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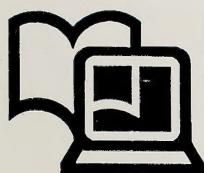
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5

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND CONFRONTATION 1919-1936

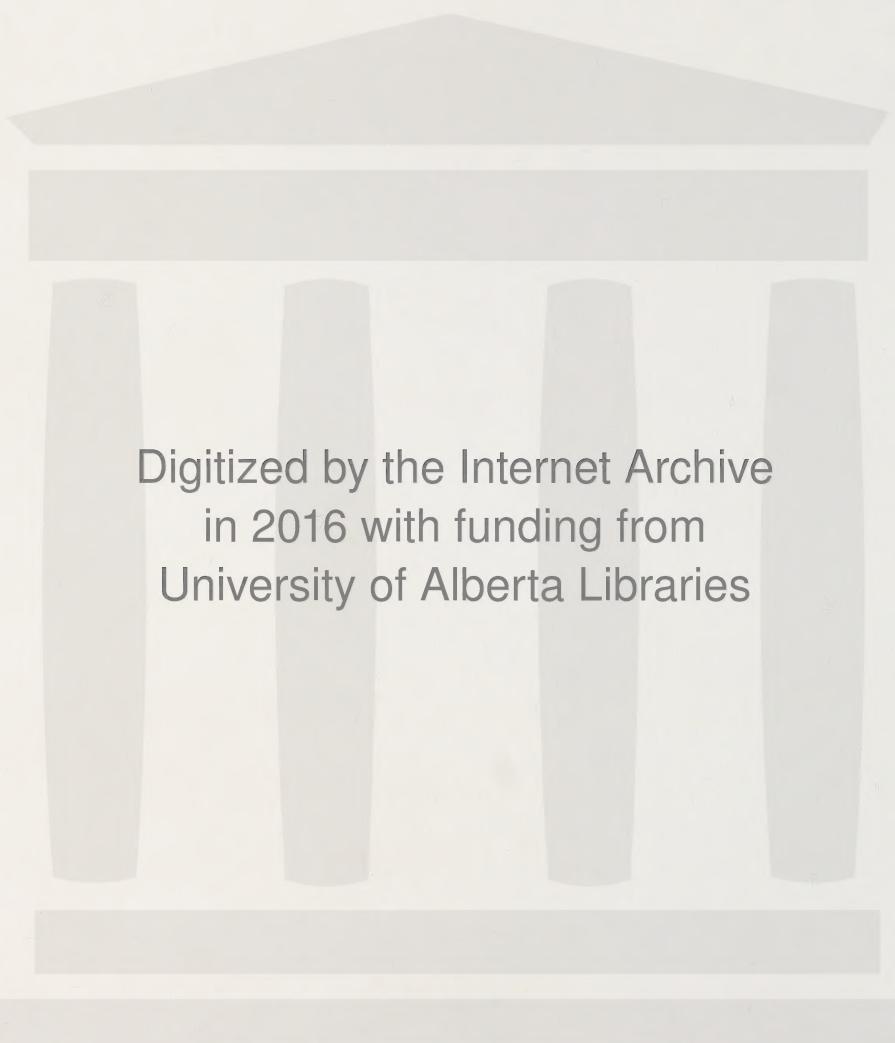


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Social Studies 30

Module 5

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND CONFRONTATION 1919–1936



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Social Studies 30
Student Module
Module 5
International Cooperation and Confrontation 1919–1936
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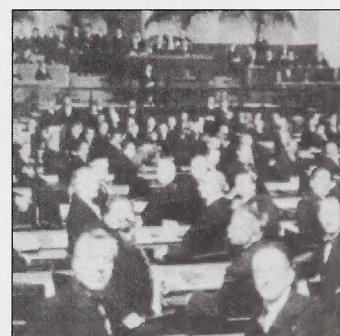
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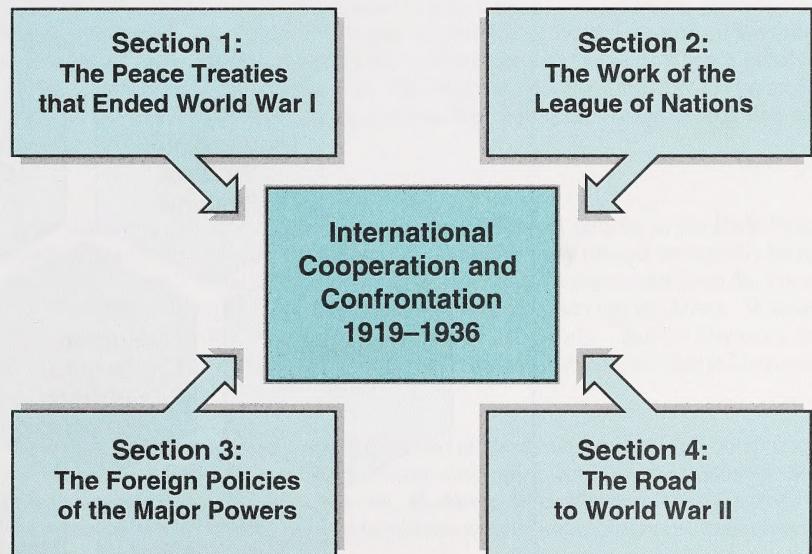
OVERVIEW

Module 5 begins with a study of the period between the two world wars. The focus of study is on confrontation and cooperation. The basic question is how to ensure a just peace in a highly interdependent world. A study of the history of the twentieth century since World War I sets the stage for understanding the problems and prospects for peace now. World War I ended on the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of 1918. Yet the horror of the war could not be erased from the minds of those who survived. Millions dead and millions more wounded were the result of the “war to end all wars.” Many on the Allied side demanded revenge, and some even called for the execution of the Kaiser.

The treaties that followed the armistice were intended to create a lasting peace. However, two decades later the world was at war once again, and the hopes of achieving international stability and global collective security were shattered.

Why did the world plunge into disaster for a second time in the twentieth century? What factors contributed to the failure of the major powers to keep the peace? Why didn’t attempts at global collective security work? These and other important questions are the focus of your study in this module.

Module 5 contains four interrelated sections:



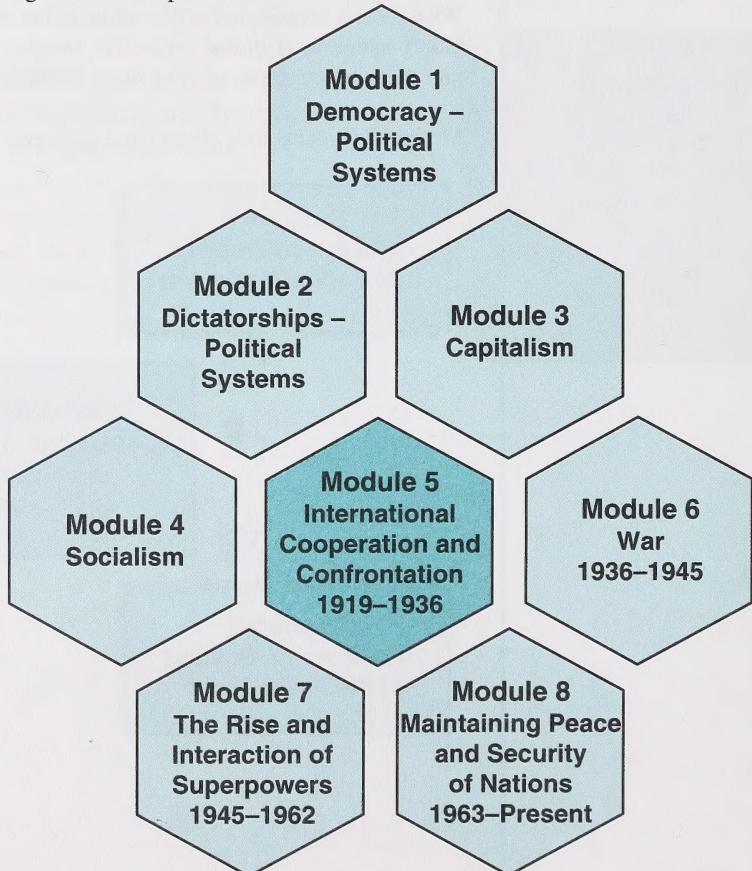
Evaluation

Your mark in this module will be determined by your work in the Assignment Booklet. You must complete all assignments. In this module you are expected to complete three section assignments and one final module assignment. The mark breakdown is as follows:

Section 1 Assignment	25 marks
Section 2 Assignment	30 marks
Section 3 Assignment	30 marks
Final Module Assignment	<u>15 marks</u>
TOTAL	100 marks

Course Overview

This course contains eight modules. The module you are working on is highlighted in a deeper colour.



Section

1

The Peace Treaties that Ended World War I



Have you ever had a major disagreement with a friend, neighbour, or perhaps even another member of your family? Who was involved in it? What did you do, if anything, to resolve it? Imagine how much greater a disagreement becomes when it involves whole countries and erupts into a war. This section will examine how the countries involved in World War I attempted to resolve their differences when the fighting was finally over.

The controversial agreements signed by the belligerent nations at the Paris Peace Conferences in 1919 are still debated today. Was Germany treated too harshly by the victorious powers? What is not in doubt is that Germany was forced to sign the Treaty of Versailles in June 1919, and that the terms were dictated by the Allies. Winston Churchill argued at the time that Germany got off lightly. But in Germany the Versailles Treaty was attacked as a vindictive “**diktat**” intended to cripple Germany.

The conclusions reached at Paris dissatisfied all the countries involved, both victors and vanquished. Perhaps the problems were too complex to solve in the relatively short time the leaders of the Great Powers met. However, when they left Paris, the seeds of discontent had been planted. Such unhappiness would poison the peace, and in twenty years, war would again erupt.

This section will focus on the conclusions reached by the victorious Allies and is intended to show that international agreements may create the grounds for future confrontations.

Upon completion of this section you should be able to do the following:

- identify the major provisions of the Treaty of Versailles concerning territorial adjustments, military restrictions, reparations, and war guilt
- explain the German reaction to the Treaty of Versailles
- list the major provisions of the Treaties of St. Germain, Trianon, Neuilly, and Sevres concerning territorial adjustments and military restrictions
- identify the major provisions of the Treaties of Brest-Litovsk, Riga, and Lausanne

Activity 1: Background Information

The Stage Is Set

Nationalism: a feeling of pride for and devotion to one's country

Nationalism became a strong force in Europe during the 1800s. Nationalism created tensions between France and Germany. The French resented their defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and wanted to regain Alsace-Lorraine, which Germany was equally determined to keep. Nationalist feelings were also strong in Britain and Italy. As European nations sought colonies in Africa and Asia for raw materials, new markets, and status, the colonial powers often came into conflict.

A military buildup occurred in Europe between 1870 and 1914. This was especially evident in the naval rivalry between Britain and Germany. In 1898 Germany began an ambitious program of naval expansion which Britain saw as a threat to its naval supremacy. European nations competed for power and prestige by enlarging their armies: both France and Russia increased their armies. As this military buildup continued, many people began to believe that war was inevitable.

At the same time that the major European powers were building up their military power, they also sought allies who would support them in case a war started. The German chancellor, Bismarck, arranged several alliances with other powers in an attempt to isolate France so that it could not take revenge against Germany. In 1879 Bismarck negotiated a military alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary. Next he arranged the Three Emperors' League which was a secret agreement between the emperors of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. In 1882 Bismarck masterminded the Triple Alliance which brought Italy into the earlier alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary. Bismarck succeeded in his aim of isolating France; however, this diplomatic isolation of France did not last.

When William II became kaiser (or German emperor) he wanted to conduct foreign policy on his own, so he forced Bismarck to resign. Germany's agreement with Russia soon collapsed and France seized the opportunity to ally itself with Russia. Russia by this time was worried by German power and signed a military agreement with France in 1894.



Kaiser William II

Britain had initially remained outside the alliance system that divided the continent of Europe into rival blocks. Britain began to seek allies when it was threatened by the German buildup in naval power. In 1904 Britain signed an agreement with France. In 1907 an Anglo-Russian agreement completed the Triple Entente which brought France, Britain, and Russia into an agreement.

The Balkan Powder Keg

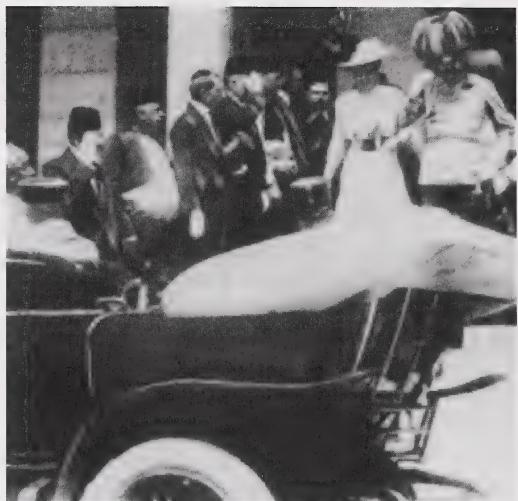
With the breakup of the Ottoman Empire and the weakening of Austria-Hungary in the early 1900s, the Balkan Peninsula was the focus of nationalist movements. Greece had won its independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1829. In the late 1800s, Slavs established the independent nations of Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro.

Austria-Hungary, at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, had been given the right to administer Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were on the western border of Serbia. Thousands of Slavs lived in these areas, yet in 1908 Austria-Hungary annexed these areas. This action upset the Serbs who had hoped to absorb all of the southern Slavs into their nation. The Russians, who wanted to increase their influence in the Balkans and who also wanted warm-water ports, denounced this move by Austria-Hungary. Russia, too weak to risk a war at this time, pressured Serbia to accept this move, but both Serbia and Russia remained bitter.

In 1912 trouble arose again when Serbia, in alliance with Bulgaria and Greece, attacked the Ottoman Empire and took over most of its remaining European possessions. As a result of this first Balkan war, the independent nation of Albania was created. A second Balkan war erupted in 1913 when Bulgaria attacked its former partners, Greece and Serbia, but was defeated.

Greece was part of the Ottoman Empire for nearly 400 years. In 1821, Greek nationalists revolted against Turkish rule. With the British and French supporting Greece, the Ottoman Empire was forced to recognize Greek independence in 1829.

On June 28, 1914, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, paid a state visit to Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. A Bosnian revolutionary, wanting Bosnia and Herzegovina united with Serbia, fatally shot the Archduke and his wife. Austria-Hungary believed that Serbia was involved in this assassination plot and issued Serbia an ultimatum. Serbia was to suppress all anti-Austrian activities, to dismiss all officials hostile to Austria-Hungary, and to allow Austria-Hungary to enter Serbia to investigate the archduke's murder.



Serbia agreed to meet all the demands except that of allowing Austrian officials into Serbia; it saw this as a violation of Serbian independence. This did not satisfy Austria-Hungary. It wished to take a strong stand and punish Serbia to discourage nationalist movements from threatening its empire. The German emperor advised moderation at this point, but Austria-Hungary ignored this caution and began to mobilize its forces. Although this did not necessarily mean war, it was viewed as a move toward war. Russia, alarmed by this move, began a partial mobilization of its armed forces as preparation for aiding Serbia if Austria-Hungary declared war. As the crisis worsened, France assured Russia of its support.

War

On July 28, 1914, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. The alliance system went into operation over the next few days. On July 29, Nicholas II, the Russian tsar, ordered a general mobilization of his armed forces. Germany asked Russia to cancel this order: when Russia did not reply, Germany declared war on Russia on August 1. Convinced that France would soon join Russia, Germany declared war on France on August 3. Germany had foreseen having to fight on two fronts – France to the west and Russia to the east. To deal with this possibility the Schlieffen Plan was adopted. It called for German troops to crush France quickly before the Russians were fully mobilized. Under the Schlieffen Plan, German troops bypassed the heavily defended eastern border of France and went through Belgium into northern France. This action brought Britain into the war as it had pledged to uphold Belgian neutrality. On August 4, Britain declared war on Germany. What started as a local incident grew into a major war involving Europe's greatest powers.

The War Years

The Western Front

Within three weeks of invading Belgium, the Germans had taken control and were fighting their way towards Paris. The German offensive stalled in September 1914 when French and British troops took a stand along the Marne River. This ended the German hope for a quick victory on the western front. By November 1914 it was clear that neither side could deal the final blow to defeat the other, so opposing armies dug trenches protected by mines and barbed wire. Trench warfare consisted of days of shelling the enemy's defences after which troops were ordered over the top of their trenches to attack enemy lines. These offensives usually resulted in heavy casualties with little gain of territory.

New Weapons

Machine guns, which were capable of killing many soldiers in seconds, were introduced during this war. In 1915 the Germans began using a poison gas that blinded and choked its victims. Before long the Allies were using poison gas as well. In 1916 the British introduced the tank as a weapon to protect soldiers from machine-gun fire. These early tanks were slow moving and broke down frequently. By the end of the war both sides were using tanks. Both sides used aircraft. In 1915 Germany used gas-filled balloons (zeppelins) to bomb the English coast. To begin with, planes were used to observe enemy troop movements, but, as the war progressed, planes were equipped with machine guns and battles were fought in the skies. Germany used submarines on a large scale in its fight against the British navy which was patrolling the North Sea and blockading the German coast. To counteract submarine warfare the Allies formed convoys of merchant ships protected by warships.

The Eastern Front

The eastern front extended from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea with the Russians and Serbs battling Germans, Austrians, and Turks. Although Russia had the largest reserves of manpower, its troops suffered from an appalling lack of supplies. They lacked weapons and leadership. In the fall of 1915 Bulgaria joined the Central Powers and with German help overtook Serbia. As on the western front, fighting on the eastern front killed and wounded many with few decisive results.

The revolution in Russia in 1917 brought changes. When Lenin seized the reins of government he negotiated the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed in March 1918, which brought about Russian withdrawal from the war. Germany then shifted its resources to the west.

Other Fronts

Italy had joined the Allies in 1915 when it declared war on Austria-Hungary and later Germany. Fighting also took place in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia where the Turks and Germans had territories.

American Entry into the War

The Americans initially stayed out of the war believing that the war in Europe did not affect them. As the war went on they were pulled into the war on the Allied side. German submarine warfare played a major role in bringing the Americans into the conflict. In December 1916 Germany attempted to break the stalemate in the war by cutting off Britain from the rest of the world and starving it into submission. It began unrestricted submarine warfare, sinking any ship in waters near enemy coasts.

In 1917 American merchant ships were attacked by German submarines. The U.S. broke off diplomatic ties with Germany. Americans were outraged when they learned that German foreign secretary Alfred Zimmerman had sent a telegram to Mexico suggesting that Mexico could regain territory lost to the United States in return for supporting Germany in the war. (The British had intercepted this telegram.) On April 2, 1917, President Wilson asked the American Congress to declare war on Germany. Congress voted for war and the United States prepared to send armed forces overseas. By late 1917 some 50 000 American troops were landing in Europe each month. With these American reinforcements Allied troops broke through German lines on August 8, 1918, and steadily pushed back the German army. By the fall of 1918 the other Central Power forces were crumbling too. In September, Bulgaria accepted defeat. In October the Ottoman Empire also accepted defeat. On November 11, 1918, Germany signed an armistice agreement ending World War I.

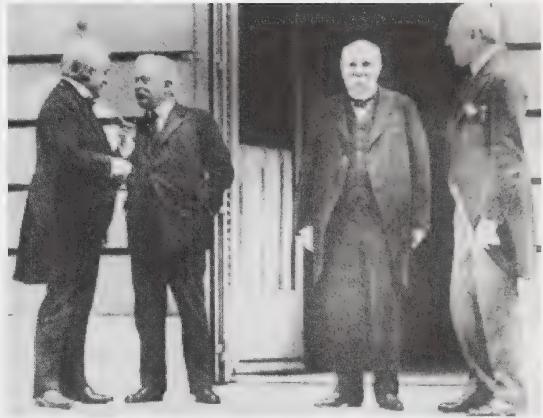


The war that was to have been over by Christmas 1914 had dragged on for four long years. The Allies now faced the task of establishing peace in a world changed by war.

Activity 2: The Treaty of Versailles

In January 1919, the representatives of twenty-eight victorious nations, including Canada, met in Paris to formulate peace treaties to deal with the defeated nations of World War I: Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

Among these representatives United States President, Woodrow Wilson, author of *Fourteen Points for a Just Peace*, the French Prime Minister, Clemenceau, and the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, constituted the most powerful leaders at the peace conference. Each wanted a specific outcome, and what emerged was a lack of purpose between these three representatives of the Great Powers.



French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau felt compelled to consider two factors: national security and economic recovery. The most important of the two was national security for France. In the Franco-Prussia War (1870–1871) and again in World War I (1914–1918) France had been invaded by Germans. To prevent another invasion, Germany would have to be weakened so that French territory would never again be threatened. The second concern was the economic recovery of France. Who would pay for the destruction in northeastern France? French taxpayers? The answer was clear to Clemenceau: Germany must be made to pay. The French Prime Minister placed French interests above all else. He was at Paris to protect the French nation. Nationalism underscored all his efforts at the conference.

Destruction of French Real Estate

- forest destroyed
 - 1875 square miles
- farm land damaged
 - 8000 square miles
- buildings
 - 377 public buildings
 - 1000 industrial plants
 - 1200 churches
 - 1500 schools
 - 246 000 homes and others

Wilson came to the peace conference to advance the ideas contained in his *Fourteen Points for a Just Peace* which he had formulated in January 1918, well before the armistice. He expected the other leaders to make sacrifices in the interest of what he considered to be a “just peace.”

The Fourteen Points

1. “Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at ...”
2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas
3. Removal of economic barriers “so far as possible”
4. Reduction of national armaments
5. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims
6. Evacuation of all Russian territory... Opportunity for Russia to determine “her own political development and national policy”
7. Evacuation and restoration of Belgium
8. Evacuation of France and restoration of invaded portions ... Alsace-Lorraine to be returned to France
9. Italy’s frontiers to be readjusted “along clearly recognizable lines of nationality”
10. Peoples of Austria-Hungary to have the opportunity for autonomous development
11. Evacuation of Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro ... Occupied territories to be restored ... Serbia to have free and secure access to the sea
12. Subject nationalities in Turkey to have the opportunity for autonomous development ... The Dardanelles to be permanently open to all nations “under international guarantees”
13. Establishment of an independent Poland with free and secure access to the sea
14. Formation of “a general association of nations” (a League of Nations) “for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity” to all states

Rancour: bitter, deep-seated ill will

For British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, Britain's national security concerns had already been resolved before January 1919 with the surrender of the German fleet. However, in an election prior to the peace conferences he had campaigned for reelection under the slogan "Make Germany Pay." Although personally committed to create a treaty which Germany could accept without **rancour**, he was limited by the powerful public sentiment in Britain for revenge.

At a British election meeting in 1918, Sir Eric Geddes, a top English politician, promised

If I am returned [to office] Germany is going to pay ... and I personally have no doubt that we will get everything that you can squeeze out of a lemon and a bit more ...

The Cost of the War to Britain

British Government spending – £7 852 000 000

Lloyd George was concerned with the spread of Bolshevism and wanted to ensure that Germany would not fall to communism. It was necessary, therefore, to ensure economic recovery. He was already sending aid to defeat communism in Russia, and it wouldn't make sense to encourage it in Germany by making the treaty too harsh. Lloyd George, it seems, wanted economic recovery in Germany as long as Britain's Empire and its naval supremacy were not threatened.

1. What were the main concerns of each of the following leaders at the Paris Peace Conference?

- a. Woodrow Wilson

- b. Georges Clemenceau

- c. David Lloyd George

2. Why was there a lack of purpose among the Big Three at the Paris Peace Conference?

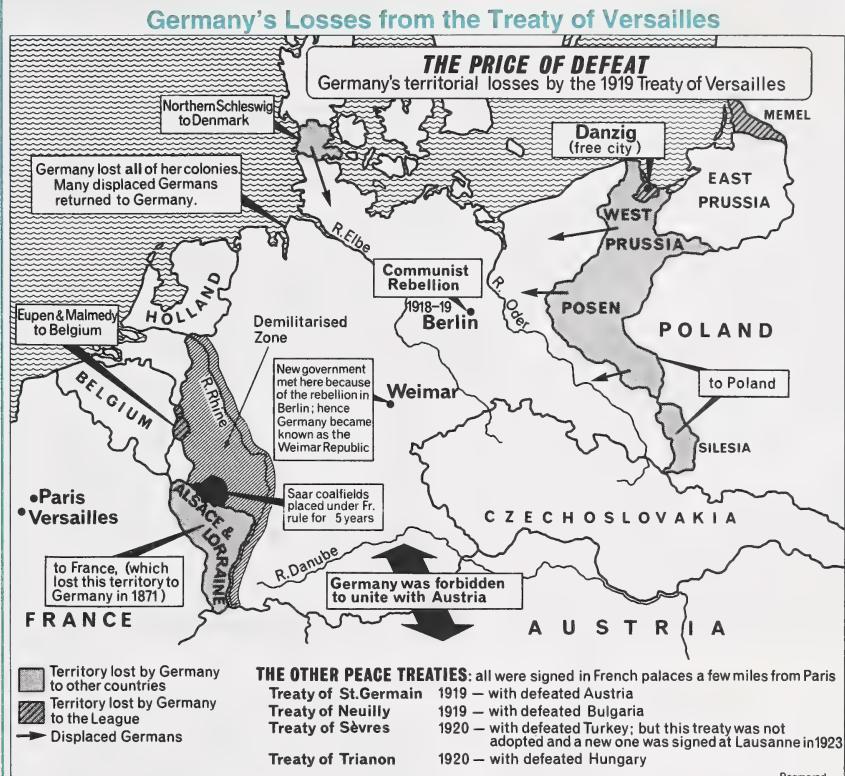
3. What evidence can you find to explain why France wanted strong, tough terms included in the Treaty of Versailles?

4. Which country (Britain or France) would have been most concerned if Germany had retained a strong navy?

5. Why did the election promises of the English politician Sir Eric Geddes appeal to many of the British voters?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 2.

The Treaty of Versailles was the most important treaty concluded at Paris. First, it was the treaty signed with Germany. Second, it was the treaty which caused the most ill-will and discontent. Third, it was the treaty which set out the covenant of the League of Nations.



When the treaty was presented to the German delegation, they refused at first to accept it, arguing that it was too harsh. Finally, after much discussion and the threat of an Allied invasion of Germany, a group of Germans from the Social Democratic Party and Catholic Centre Party agreed to sign.

The crucial points of the treaty were as follows:

- Germany was expected to pay **reparations**. The amount could not be established at the time and had to be argued about later. Eventually it was decided that Germany should pay about \$33 billion in reparations to the Allies.

*Reparations: payment of war costs
Germany was expected to pay the war debts of particular Allies.*

¹ Heinemann Publishers (Oxford) Ltd. for the map from *A Map History of the Modern World 1896 to the Present Day* by Brian Catchpole. Reprinted by permission of Heinemann Publishers (Oxford) Ltd.

- To justify imposing reparations, Germany was forced to accept sole responsibility for starting the war. This was Article 231: the “war guilt” clause.

Anschluss: a union

- Germany agreed never to engage in **Anschluss** with Austria.
- Germany was virtually disarmed except for a small army intended to maintain internal security. It was limited to 100 000 men and not permitted to have tanks. Conscription was forbidden, and volunteers had to serve for twelve years. This meant long-term enlistment. The navy was limited to a few surface vessels. No submarines were allowed.
- The Rhineland, although German territory, was demilitarized. This meant that no German troops could be stationed in that zone which formed the frontier with France. An Allied army would occupy the Rhineland for fifteen years.
- The Saar Basin was transferred to the League of Nations for fifteen years. Its coal mines would be operated by the French. A **plebiscite** would be held in 1935 to determine the Saar’s future status.

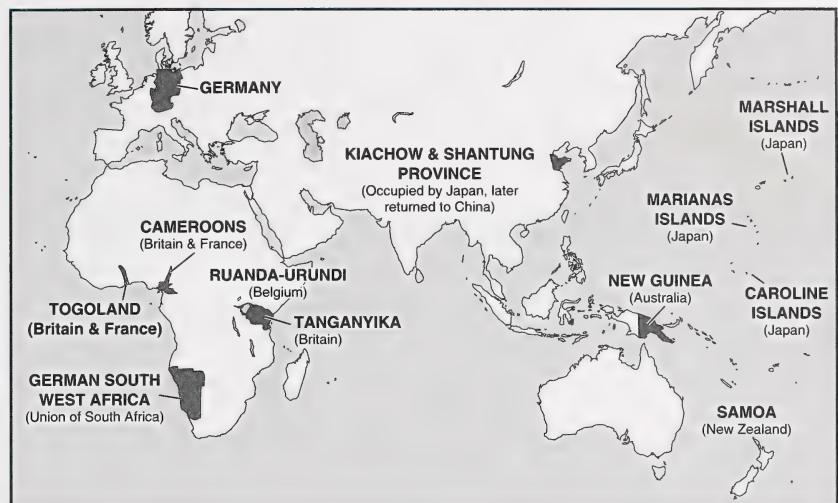
Plebiscite: a vote on a question by the people of an area

Cede: to give up

- Germany was forced to **cede** approximately 10% of its territory in Europe, which included about seven million people, to neighbouring countries. These losses included
 - land to Denmark and Belgium
 - Alsace-Lorraine to France
 - extensive areas of eastern Germany to the newly reconstituted Poland. (East Prussia was separated from the rest of Germany by the Polish Corridor which gave Poland access to the sea. Danzig was made a free city under the jurisdiction of the League of Nations.)
- As well, Germany lost all of its empire. These were territories in Africa, a sphere of influence in China, and islands in the Pacific. They became **mandates**.

*Mandates: territories given to the Allied powers to administer for the League of Nations
This was to terminate when the mandates were capable of independence.*

Mandates of the Former German Empire



Note: At Paris, three kinds of mandates were given to particular countries. “A” Mandates were countries which would soon become independent because it was considered that they were advanced. These included Palestine, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon (all former Turkish territories). “B” Mandates were less advanced areas which would not be independent soon. These included Cameroons, Togoland, Tanganyika, and Ruanda-Urundi. “C” Mandates were sparsely populated and underdeveloped and given to those who had taken them from the Germans during the war.

6. Classify the key points of the Treaty of Versailles into sections dealing with territorial losses, military limitations, economic indemnities, and war guilt. Be specific.

a. **Territorial Losses**

- Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France.

- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

b. Military Limitations

- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

c. Economic Indemnities

- _____
- _____

d. War Guilt

- _____

7. a. What is a demilitarized zone?

b. Why was the Rhineland demilitarized? In answering, look at it from the French point of view.

8. While only some of Wilson's Fourteen Points were incorporated into the Treaty of Versailles, Point 13 was accepted. Why would its inclusion anger the Germans?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 2.

Activity 3: The Treaties of Brest-Litovsk, St. Germain, Trianon, Neuilly, and Sevres

The Treaty of St. Germain with Austria and the Treaty of Trianon with Hungary were important in establishing new boundaries in central Europe. The Treaties of Neuilly and Sevres, signed with Bulgaria and Turkey respectively, created changes in territory in southeastern Europe and the Middle East. They, like the Treaty of Versailles, were to create the grounds for future discontent and, in some cases, confrontation.

Nationalism played an important role in deciding the boundaries. National self-determination was the guiding factor in deciding territorial sovereignty. This meant that countries would be formed based on characteristics of nationality (language, race, culture, history) and that these new nations should determine how they would be governed. The Big Three at Paris were hopeful that democratic institutions would develop.

You will deal initially with the Treaties of St. Germain and Trianon, but first some understanding is needed about the disintegration of the Romanov and Hapsburg Empires and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 1918) which took Russia out of World War I.

Even before the armistice of November 11, 1918, both the Romanov Empire of Russia and the Hapsburg Empire of Austria-Hungary had collapsed. In Russia, Tsar Nicholas II had abdicated in March 1917 and the Bolsheviks seized power in November 1917.

Bolsheviks: After gaining power the Bolsheviks renamed themselves the All-Russian Communist Party.

Lenin: leader of the Bolsheviks and head of the world's first communist government

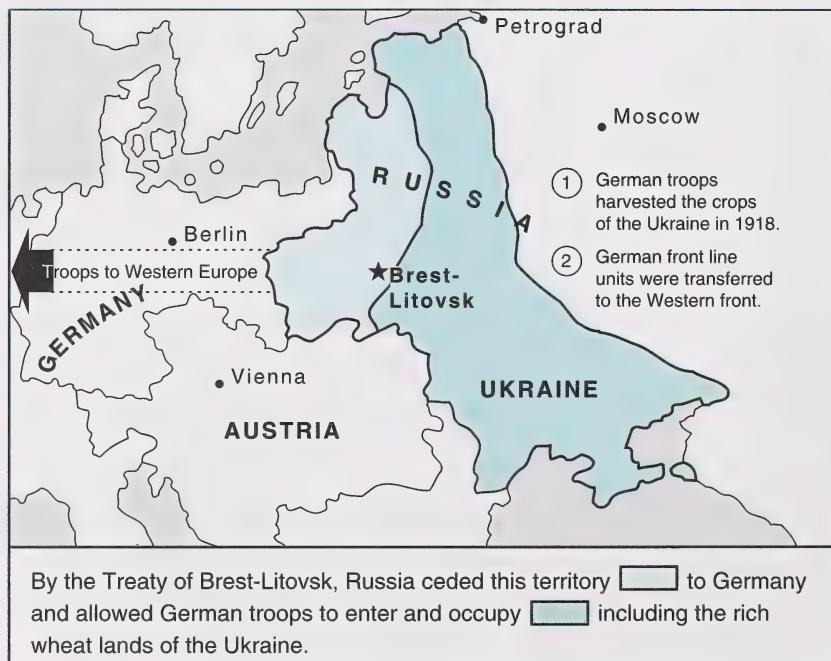
Tsar Nicholas II and his family were executed by the “Reds” (**Bolsheviks**) in 1918 apparently to prevent their falling into the hands of the “Whites” who were anti-Bolshevik forces fighting the “Reds.” Allied troops were sent to intervene on the side of the “Whites” in the Russian Civil War (1918–1920) but eventually the “Reds” prevailed to establish the world’s first communist government.

The scene was set for **Lenin** to fulfil his promise to pull Russia out of the war. But the price would be high.

Under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Germany at first forced Russia to give up all claims to Poland, Lithuania, Finland, and the Ukraine. The final version of the treaty also ensured that Russia lost a third of its people (although most were not Russians) and a third of its productive land, including Estonia, Livonia, and Kurland. Eventually, Kurland and the southern half of Livonia formed Latvia while the northern half of Livonia became part of Estonia.

Changes Brought About by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

June 1, 1918





The military implications of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk were also very significant. With Russia's withdrawal from the war, German troops could be moved from the Eastern to the Western front. The aim of the German High Command was to attack in the west before the Americans appeared in France in strength. For a short period it appeared as if the Germans would succeed, but in the final analysis they failed.

1. What territorial changes were brought about by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk?

Check your answer by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 3.

In Austria-Hungary, Emperor Francis-Joseph had died in 1916, and his successor, Charles, was unable to hold the empire together under the pressures of war and the aspirations for national independence. Before the armistice, the multinational empire had collapsed. On October 21, 1918, the Czechs proclaimed their independence. They were quickly followed by the Yugoslavs and then by the Hungarians on November 1, 1918. Finally, Austria declared itself an independent republic on November 13, 1918.

Under the treaties of St. Germain (1919) and Trianon (1920), Austria-Hungary was split into four new nations. The realities of the disintegration of empire were confirmed by treaty, and the existence of Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia was recognized. Austria and Hungary were reduced to tiny states, and they also had to pay reparations.

The boundaries were generally determined on lines of nationality, but it was a very complex problem which could not be resolved definitively. Yugoslavia, for example, comprised a number of different nationalities.

The Division of Austria-Hungary

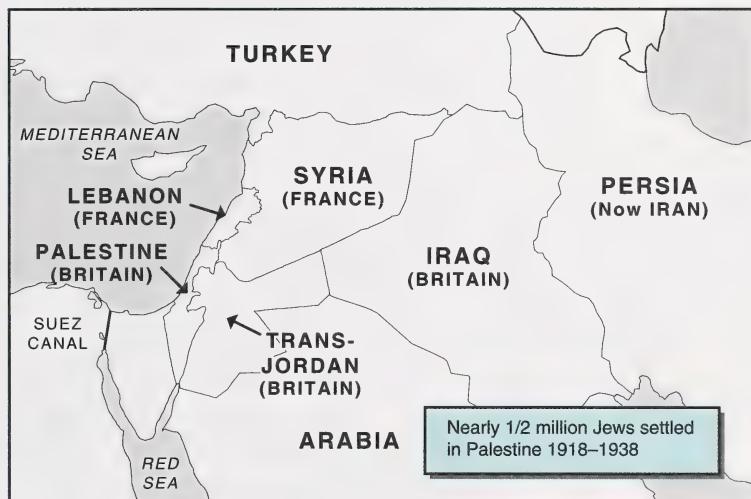


In the treaties, the peacemakers attempted to follow Point 10 of Wilson's Fourteen Points – the principle of national self-determination. However, in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the national groups were too mixed to be neatly divided into separate nations.

The Treaty of Neuilly (1919) forced Bulgaria to surrender territory, limit the size of its army, and pay reparations.

The Treaty of Sevres (1920) and the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) broke up the Turkish Empire. Some of its territories were given independence, but Britain and France took control, under the mandate system, of the former Turkish Empire in the Middle East.

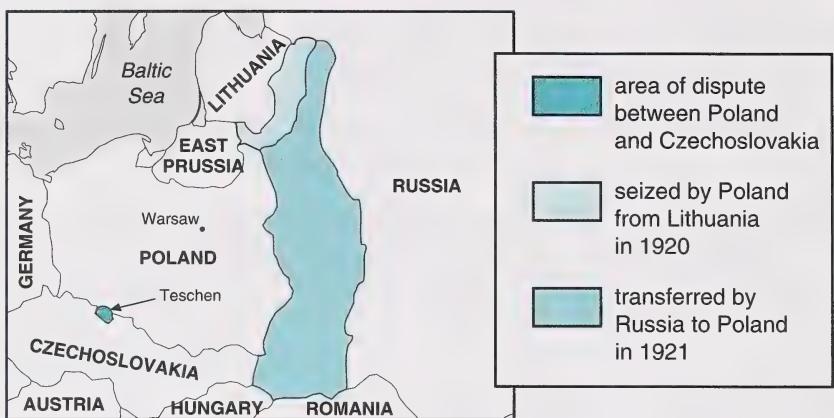
The Mandates of the Middle East



The British control of Palestine is interesting. During the course of World War I, Britain promised Palestine to the Arabs to encourage a revolt against the Turks. It also promised the same territory to the Zionists (Jews) in the Balfour Declaration (1917). Today, there is still conflict over the territory between Israelis and Palestinian Arabs.

At the time of the Paris Peace Conference, the Russians were caught up in a civil war. They did not attend and, as a result, lost territory to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania. Prior to that, Russia had already lost the territory that formed the new nations of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

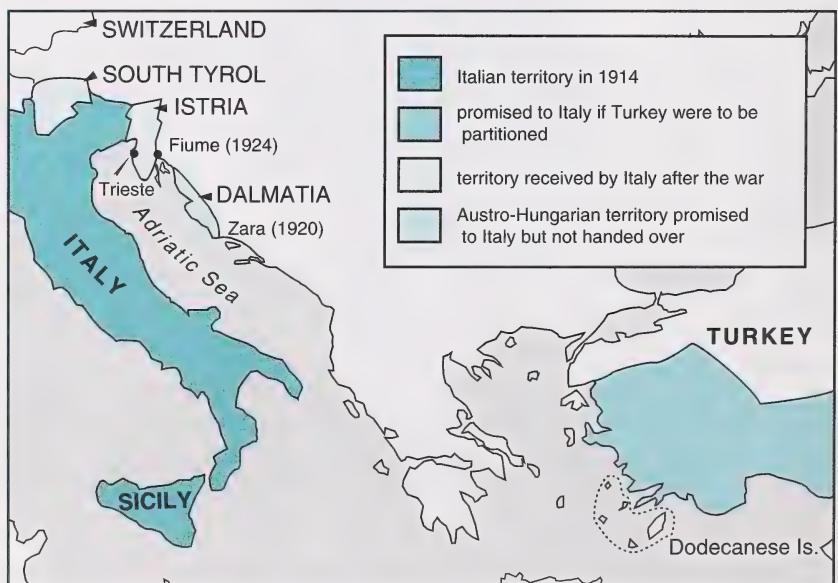
The Polish Land-Grab



Poland, which was to extend its territory at the expense of Lithuania (1920) and Russia (Treaty of Riga, 1921), was established as a buffer zone between the old enemies of Russia and Germany.

Finally, as a reward for joining the Allies in 1915 after the Treaty of London, Italy was given parts of Austria, namely the South Tyrol, Trieste, and part of the Dalmatia coast. However, it never received the Dalmatia territory.

Italy's War Gains



Italy's reward was a great disappointment to Italians when consideration was given to what had been promised at the Treaty of London (1915). Such disappointment was an important factor in achievement of power by Mussolini and his fascists in 1922.

2.

Europe in 1914–1917



- On the preceding map, shade in the European Allied powers as of mid-1917.
- In another colour, shade in the Central Powers.
- Which European countries remained neutral?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 3.

The following charts outline some of the changes that occurred after World War I ended.

Breakup of the Empires

Empires in 1914	Rulers in 1914	Empires in 1922	Republics in 1922
British	King George V	British	
German	Kaiser William II	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Republic (usually called the Weimer Republic) empire broken up
Russian	Tsar Nicholas II	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Republic (later the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) empire broken up
Austro-Hungarian	Emperor Francis Joseph	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Republics of Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia (with Serbia and Montenegro) other parts of Empire to Poland, Italy, and Romania
Ottoman (Turkish)	Sultan Muhammed V	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Republic of Turkey empire broken up

The New Countries of Europe after the First World War

New Country	In 1914 Part of	Population	Capital City	Peoples
Finland	Russian Empire	3 million	Helsinki	Finns (90%)
Estonia	Russian Empire	1 million	Tallinn	Estonians (90%)
Latvia	Russian Empire	2 million	Riga	Letts (80%)
Lithuania	Russian Empire German Empire	2 million	Vilna (later Kaunas)	Lithuanians (90%)
Poland	Russian Empire German Empire Austro-Hungarian Empire	30 million	Warsaw	Poles (70%) Russians (15%)
Czechoslovakia	Austro-Hungarian Empire	12 million	Prague	Czechs and Slovaks (65%) Germans (25%)
Yugoslavia	Austro-Hungarian Empire Serbia Montenegro	12 million	Belgrade	Serbs and Croats (75%) Slovenes (10%)

3.

Europe in 1920

On the preceding map shade, using different colours,

- the nations reduced in size since 1914
- the new nations
- the nations that gained additional territory in Europe

4. By the end of World War I, what had happened to the empires that had existed in 1914?

5. Why would national unity be difficult to achieve in some of the new nations formed after World War I?

6. Complete the following chart to indicate which of Wilson's *Fourteen Points for a Just Peace* were incorporated into the **territorial changes** made at the peace conferences. (The Fourteen Points are given in Activity 2.)

Territorial Changes Brought About by Peace Treaty	Point #
• <u>Belgian sovereignty was restored.</u>	7
• _____	_____
• _____	_____
• _____	_____
• _____	_____
• _____	_____
• _____	_____
• _____	_____

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 3.

Activity 4: Problems and Grievances

The Paris Peace Treaties officially ended World War I, but they were unable to solve all the concerns of Europe. Problems and grievances remained and would have to be faced in the years ahead.

Was World War I a victory for democracy and individual liberty? It seems that Allied leaders (particularly Wilson) saw their nation's triumph in these terms.

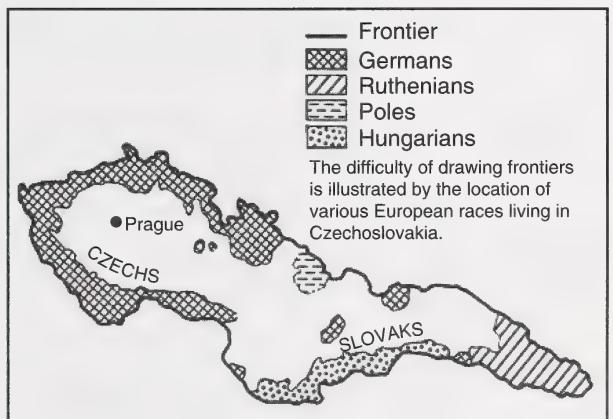
Wilson's Point 10 – "Peoples of Austria-Hungary to have the opportunity for autonomous development" – is specific about self-determination. So is Point 12: "Subject nationalities in Turkey to have the opportunity for autonomous development."

Would the new nations and the defeated enemy come to accept these ideals? The Allies clearly hoped so and sympathized with the principle of self-determination, which implied the rights of people to set up their own forms of government within their own national frontiers.

At the Paris Peace Conference, the Allies attempted to draw national frontiers around different European nationalities, but it was a very difficult, if not impossible, task. The complicated process involved as many as eighty million people. Such a process seemed fraught with problems. One reason why the League of Nations was formed was to solve such dilemmas.

Allegiance: loyalty to the nation

The difficulties faced by Czechoslovakia exemplified the problems of building new nations and new **allegiances**. Czechs and Slovaks constituted approximately 65% of the population, but 25% of the people were German-speaking. They were concentrated in the region that bordered Germany—the Sudetenland. The Sudetenland is central to the issues of the immediate causes of World War II. As well, the country contained Ruthenians, Poles, and Hungarians. How could Czechoslovakia forge a sense of nationality out of these circumstances?



1

Yugoslavia faced similar problems. Serbs and Croats made up about 75% of the population, Slovenes 10%, with other nationalities and language groups forming the rest. Added to the difficulties were problems with Italy over territorial claims along the Dalmatia Coast (the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea).

Italy had been promised Dalmatia at the Treaty of London (1915), but Woodrow Wilson refused to discuss such arrangements at Paris because he had not signed the agreement and opposed secret diplomacy (Point 1 of his Fourteen Points). In Wilson's Eleventh Point: "Serbia to have free and secure access to the sea," it is clear he had no sympathy for the Italian case. "Access to the sea" meant access to the Adriatic through Dalmatia, and Serbia was part of the new Yugoslavia.

¹ Heinemann Publishers (Oxford) Ltd. for the map from *A Map History of the Modern World 1890 to the Present Day* by Brian Catchpole. Reprinted by permission of Heinemann Publishers (Oxford) Ltd.

1. What factors made new nation-building difficult in Yugoslavia in the period following the peace treaties?

Check your answer by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 4.

Of all the problems that grew out of the Paris Peace Conferences, the most serious were those concerning Germany. Was Germany treated too harshly? Historians still argue about this question. Were German grievances legitimate? Did Germany deserve the treaty dictated to it?

The net effect of the Treaty of Versailles was to do the following:

- It burdened Germany with the cost of the war (reparations) even though the German economy was in ruins and the people were desperately poor. (At the end of the war, Germany was in a desperate state. Largely as a result of the British naval blockade of German ports, the population was starving.)
- It forbade union with Austria (*Anschluss*).
- It took about 10% of German territory in Europe and split East Prussia from the rest of the country.
- It imposed restrictions on the German military.
- It took away all overseas territory.

German Reactions to the Treaty

- Speaking at the National Assembly, Herr Schneidermann made a violent attack on the peace treaty, describing it as a murderous proposal: “The Allies are driving the knife into the living body of the German people ... The proposed Peace means the miserable enslavement of children.”
- The *Berliner Tageblatt* said that the terms meant the end of Germany as a great power.
- The *Bourse Courier* summed up the terms as “intolerable.”
- “VENGEANCE! GERMAN NATION!

Today in the Hall of Mirrors a disgraceful treaty is being signed. Never forget it. There will be vengeance for the shame of 1919.”

– Deutsche Zeitung, June 28, 1919

The leader of the German delegation to the peace conference stated his feelings about the Treaty of Versailles. He made these points:

- Many promises had been made to Germany, especially by President Wilson. None had been kept. Germany's rights were to have been respected but instead they were overridden by force.
- The treaty was taking away Germany's colonies. Even the purely German area of the Saar with its coal deposits was to be lost. It had a population of more than 650 000 Germans but it was to go because of the coal resources there.
- Germany was being forced to accept that it was responsible for all the damages of the war. However, President Wilson had said that “no single fact caused the war, but that the whole European system is responsible.” How would payment be set? A body made up entirely of Germany's enemies would decide the amount.
- A principle of the peace was the right of people to decide their own future. In many instances, this was being denied. Territories that were completely German were going to Poland. Alsace-Lorraine went back to France regardless of how the people felt. Danzig was to be torn away from the German Empire. Millions of Germans in Austria wanted to join with Germany but this was denied. Czechoslovakia would contain millions of other Germans who should be part of the homeland.

Defence of the Peace Treaties

In response, the British prime minister Lloyd George told why he thought the peace treaty was fair. He made these points:

- The defeated nations were the aggressors. Therefore they had to give up regions they had taken by force and should pay for damages done to the countries they had attacked.
- Captive peoples were freed. No peace treaty had ever released so many subject races from the domination of oppressive empires.
- Mighty and vast weapon systems were the cause of the war and resulted in death and destruction previously unknown. These were eliminated (at least for the defeated nations).
- War was treated as crime. The guilty were subject to trial and punishment with payment to the victims for the damages incurred.
- International disputes were to be settled peacefully through the League of Nations which was created for this purpose.
- The German colonies were to be administered under the League of Nations for the benefit of their peoples.
- Obviously the Treaty would require revision in the future. The League of Nations was empowered to change any parts that turned out to be unjust and unsound.

Others defended the Treaty of Versailles as fair and thought it could have been worse for Germany. Some of their reasons included these points:

- The Germans themselves had been tough on Russia in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918. According to its terms Russia gave up 34% of its population, 54% of its industry, and 89% of its coal mines and was fined six billion marks.
- Germany was not seriously weakened by the Treaty. By 1925, German steel production was double Britain's, and Germany remained a strong country in population and resources.
- During the war, German officials were saying that if Germany won, the Allies would be made to pay the war costs.

2. What word or words would best describe Germany's reaction to the Treaty of Versailles?

3. Contrast the objections to and defence of the peace settlement using the summary chart that follows. You may do so in point form.

German Objections to the Peace Terms	Defence of the Peace Treaty
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Saar Basin, with a population of 650 000 people, was separated. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Germany was the aggressor state.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> _____ _____ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> _____ _____
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> _____ _____ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> _____ _____
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> _____ _____ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> _____ _____
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> _____ _____ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> _____ _____
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> _____ _____ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> _____ _____
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> _____ _____ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> _____ _____
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> _____ _____ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> _____ _____
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> _____ _____ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> _____ _____

4. Why were the peace treaties developed at Paris not likely to create a lasting peace?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 4.

Activity 5: Review

The three sources that follow provide a brief review of the information presented in Activities 2, 3, and 4. Examine these sources carefully; then answer the questions that follow them.

Source I

Excerpts from Wilson's Fourteen Points:

- All Russian territory should be evacuated.
- All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored.
- The peoples of Austria-Hungary should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.
- An independent Polish state should be set up and should include the territories inhabited by Polish populations.

Source II

Some provisions of the Treaty of Versailles:

- The territories that were ceded to Germany are restored to France.
- Germany acknowledges and will strictly respect the independence of Austria.
- Germany recognizes the complete independence of the Czecho-Slovak state.
- Germany recognizes the complete independence of the state of Poland.

Source III



Select the most appropriate choice to answer the following.

_____ 1. On what issue do the sources focus?

- Should peace treaties attempt to implement plans for global collective security?
- Should peace treaties help former subject peoples realize their nationalist ambitions?
- Should disarmament be an important goal of a peace treaty?
- Should armed intervention be used to enforce a peace treaty?

¹ Heinemann Publishers (Oxford) Ltd. for the map from *A Map History of the Modern World 1890 to the Present Day* by Brian Catchpole. Reprinted by permission of Heinemann Publishers (Oxford) Ltd.

_____ 2. Which opinion is **most** similar to those expressed in Source I?

- Historically distinct national groups should have the right to decide their own destinies.
- Victorious nations should receive reparation payments for war damage.
- New nations created from war should establish democratic governments.
- Territories occupied during wartime should be returned to their former status.

_____ 3. The motive for the goals listed in Sources I and II originated from a strong belief in national

- prestige
- security
- prosperity
- self-determination

_____ 4. Source III indicates that the postwar settlements in 1919 attempted to

- partition Poland between Germany and Soviet Russia.
- prevent Slavic people from migrating into Western Europe
- create new borders to recognize autonomous ethnic groups
- create an Austro-Hungarian Empire independent of German control

_____ 5. The transfer of territory from Bulgaria to Greece, indicated in Source III, was dictated in the Treaty of

- Versailles
- Neuilly
- Sevres
- St. Germain

_____ 6. Which one of Wilson's Fourteen Points was discarded at the peace treaties, the territorial adjustments of which are represented by Source III?

- "Evacuation of all Russian territory"
- "Return of Alsace-Lorraine to France"
- "Serbia to have free and secure access to the sea"
- "Peoples of Austria-Hungary to have the opportunity for autonomous development"

_____ 7. Which of the following states was independent immediately prior to the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire?

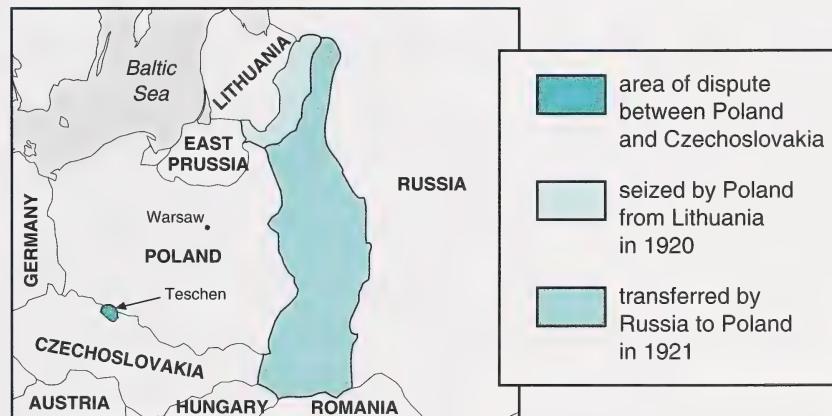
- Czechoslovakia
- Yugoslavia
- Poland
- Serbia

_____ 8. The devastating effects of the First World War on France and its citizens had as an immediate consequence the

- withdrawal of the French delegation from the Paris Peace Conference
- desire for reparations from Germany to pay for war damage
- strengthening of ties between France and Great Britain
- shared control of Alsace-Lorraine with Germany

Use the map to respond to question 9.

Polish Territory by 1921



_____ 9. The Polish frontiers established by 1921 were largely the result of the conclusions reached in the Treaties of

- St. Germain and Sevres
- Versailles and St. Germain
- Versailles and Riga
- Neuilly and Trianon

_____ 10. The French delegation involved in drafting the Treaty of Versailles was most insistent on including the provision that Germany should

- A. be prevented from union with Austria
- B. lose all its colonial possessions in Africa
- C. not be allowed to join the League of Nations
- D. be forced to severely limit the size of its army

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Activity 5.

Follow-up Activities

If you had difficulties understanding the concepts in the activities, it is recommended that you do the Extra Help. If you have a clear understanding of the concepts, it is recommended that you do the Enrichment.

Extra Help

Place the letter of the correct term in the space before each definition.

a. Dalmatia	i. mandates	q. <i>Anschluss</i>
b. Lausanne	j. buffer zone	r. reparations
c. revenge	k. nationalism	s. Polish Corridor
d. Saar	l. war guilt	t. Rhineland
e. self-determination	m. Sudetenland	u. St. Germain
f. <i>diktat</i>	n. Fourteen Points	v. national security
g. Hapsburg	o. Romanov	w. military limitations
h. Riga	p. Versailles	x. Brest-Litovsk

_____ 1. blame attached to Germany for starting the war

_____ 2. place where the treaty with Germany was signed

_____ 3. payments of war debts

_____ 4. Germany's view of the peace treaty it was forced to sign

_____ 5. Woodrow Wilson's principles for a Just Peace

_____ 6. the basis on which Austria-Hungary was broken up into separate and distinct states

_____ 7. France's greatest concern at the Paris Peace Conference

- _____ 8. League of Nations authority granted to victorious powers to administer overseas territory taken from Germany and Turkey
- _____ 9. a political relationship such as the one forbidden between Germany and the newly created independent state of Austria
- _____ 10. the treaty signed with Austria
- _____ 11. a demilitarized zone between France and Germany
- _____ 12. area of land which gave Poland access to the sea
- _____ 13. coal mining region of Germany granted to France for exploitation for fifteen years
- _____ 14. Examples of this concept would include “no submarines” and “no aircraft.” They applied to Germany.
- _____ 15. Poland was used for this purpose; to keep old enemies, Germany and Russia, apart.
- _____ 16. British and French public opinion which influenced deliberations in Paris
- _____ 17. Russian dynasty destroyed by World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution
- _____ 18. Austrian dynasty destroyed by World War I
- _____ 19. Treaty signed between Germany and Russia
- _____ 20. area promised to Italy in the Treaty of London but never received under the Paris Peace Treaties
- _____ 21. place where a treaty between Russia and Poland was signed in 1921
- _____ 22. area included in Czechoslovakia which contained a large German-speaking population
- _____ 23. Treaty which gave mandates in the Middle East to Britain and France
- _____ 24. placing concern for one’s nation before other considerations

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Extra Help.

Enrichment

Study this excerpt from Lloyd George's *War Memoirs*.

Word was telegraphed ... authorizing Erzberger and his colleagues to sign the Armistice. They did so at 5 a.m. on November 11th, and at 11 a.m. the cannon-fire ceased along the battlefield ...

The Conditions of the Armistice were far reaching. They included the evacuation by the German military forces not only of all the invaded territories of Belgium, Luxemburg and France, and of Alsace-Lorraine, but of all German territory West of the Rhine ...; repatriation of all hostages and return of prisoners of war; surrender of large quantities of war material and transport material; withdrawal in Eastern Europe from all territory outside the 1914 German frontier and denunciation of the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest; replacement of all cash and securities taken from Belgium and all gold taken from Russia and Romania ... the handing over of all submarines and of a large part of their fleet ...

The German delegates accompanied their signature with a declaration ... warning the Allies that the carrying out of its conditions would throw the German people into anarchy and famine, whereas it had been anticipated that the terms ... would have ended the suffering of non-combatant women and children.¹

Using the information studied in Section 1 along with the information in the preceding excerpt, answer the following questions.

1. What does repatriation mean?

2. What can be learned from this reading regarding the position on the Western Front at the time of the Armistice?

¹ Oxford University Press for the excerpt from *European History 1815 - 1949* p. 50. Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press.

3. What stage in World War I was marked by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk?

4. a. Name the Ally which had the most direct interest in Alsace-Lorraine?

b. How did the arrangements for Alsace-Lorraine in the peace treaty that followed this Armistice differ from the arrangements then made for other German territory west of the Rhine?

5. Why did the Allies show such an interest in all submarines?

6. What justification did the German delegates have to warn of the following?

a. anarchy: _____

b. famine: _____

7. What changes were made during the three years that followed this Armistice in the frontiers of Eastern Europe, excluding the Balkans?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 1: Enrichment.

Conclusion

Before meeting at Paris, the Allies had agreed to make peace on the basis of Wilson's *Fourteen Points for a Just Peace*. However, Allied statesmen never did adhere wholeheartedly to the plan. Although they believed that Germany was to blame for the war, they disagreed about what to do with it in defeat.

Clemenceau and the French people wanted revenge, compensation, and guarantees that a similar war would never happen again. They wanted a crippled Germany stripped of its armed forces and forced to pay reparations. As well, they wanted an assurance that what remained of the German army would stay well away from the border they shared. This was accomplished by making the Rhineland a demilitarized zone.

Lloyd George, who feared the spread of communism, was concerned about creating conditions in Germany that would foster the very thing he wanted to avoid. It didn't make sense to oppose communism in Russia with support of Anti-Bolshevik forces if the conclusions in Paris encouraged Bolshevism in Germany. These fears were compounded in January 1919 when revolutionaries seized control of the Berlin government for a week. The British seemed interested in rebuilding a continental Germany now that the German threat to British naval supremacy and Empire had been overcome. However, British public opinion was an important factor which influenced Lloyd George, and the people wanted revenge.

Woodrow Wilson had already revealed what he wanted to emerge out of the peace; it was contained in his Fourteen Points. He argued there should be justice for victors and vanquished. Apparently the Germans saw this as a signal that they would be treated generously. But to Wilson, justice demanded that Germany should be punished even if such punishment would not be as severe as that desired by the French.

What then, became of the *Fourteen Points for a Just Peace*?

WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS

1. "Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at ..."
2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas.
3. Removal of economic barriers "so far as possible"
4. Reduction of national armaments
5. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims
6. Evacuation of all Russian territory ... Opportunity for Russia to determine "her own political development and national policy ..."
7. Evacuation and restoration of Belgium
8. Evacuation of France and restoration of invaded portions ... Alsace-Lorraine to be returned to France
9. Italy's frontiers to be readjusted "along clearly recognizable lines of nationality"
10. Peoples of Austria-Hungary to have the opportunity for autonomous development
11. Evacuation of Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro ... Occupied territories to be restored ... Serbia to have free and secure access to the sea

THE ACTUAL RESULTS

- The Big Three frequently negotiated in secret. Even Wilson admitted that treaties could not always be openly discussed.
- This point was dropped. The British didn't want it.
- Treaties actually increased the number of economic barriers.
- Only the defeated were disarmed. Some of the victors increased their armaments.
- The victorious nations, particularly the British and the French, divided the spoils of war.
- During the Russian Civil War (1918–1920) the Allied powers intervened in Russia in an attempt to overthrow the Bolsheviks.
- This was carried out.
- This was carried out.
- The final compromise led to over 500 000 Germans and Yugoslavs under Italian rule.
- This was carried out.
- This was carried out.

12. Subject nationalities in Turkey to have the opportunity for autonomous development ... The Dardanelles to be permanently open to all nations "under international guarantees" → By 1923, the Turks had achieved some stability, but the British and French divided the Middle East between them.

13. Establishment of an independent Poland with free and secure access to the sea. → This was carried out.

14. Formation of "a general association of nations" (a League of Nations) "for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity" to all states → The covenant of the League of Nations was incorporated into all five treaties, but to Wilson's dismay none of them were accepted by the United States Senate.

Wilson's Point 12 was, in part, resolved under the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) which replaced the Treaty of Sevres which Turkey had rejected. Lausanne ended the Turkish-Czech War and under its provisions:

- Greeks gave up claims to Turkish territory.
- The Dardenelles (the waterway between the Black and Aegean Seas), although remaining under Turkish control, was open to vessels of all countries. This provision reflected part of Wilson's Point 12.
- Italy kept the Dodecanese Islands; Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq were mandated to Britain and France (See map Activity 3).

By 1923 all treaties with the defeated powers had been signed. But what did these treaties mean for the people of Europe? In some countries there was satisfaction. Obviously the Poles welcomed Polish reconstruction. However, in other countries there was bitterness and rancour. In Germany, the Treaty of Versailles was hated.

What had these international agreements achieved? It is now clear that although some long-standing desires for national self-determination had been realized, the seeds for future confrontation had been sown.

It was to be the lot of the League of Nations to solve some of these problems. You will see how well it fared in Section 2.

Assignment
Booklet

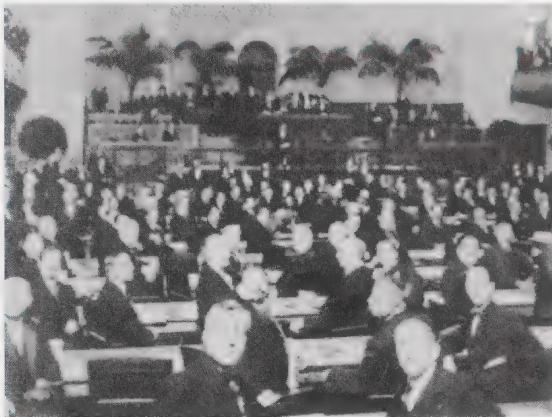
ASSIGNMENT

Turn to your Assignment Booklet and do the assignment for this section.

Section

2

The Work of the League of Nations



What organizations or groups do you belong to? What are the membership requirements? Who leads the group and maintains order within it? What is the purpose of the group or what goals does it have? If someone disobeyed the rules or disagreed with the group's goals, what would happen to this person? In this section you will learn why the League of Nations was formed and what membership in it involved.

In his fourteenth point, President Woodrow Wilson offered the people of Europe a program for a just and lasting peace. He came to Paris with a plan by which the powers would bind themselves in an organization called the League of Nations. Its purpose was to encourage international cooperation and to undermine the pursuit of narrow national self-interest. Even though in the final analysis the League was unable to prevent another world conflict, there were enough examples of its activities to show that attempts at international cooperation are sometimes successful. Such cooperation was based on a belief in **internationalism**.

Upon completion of this section, you should be able to

- identify the ideals of the League of Nations
- explain the activities of the various organizations within the League of Nations
- describe some of the humanitarian activities of the League of Nations
- explain why membership in the League of Nations was always problematic
- identify instances when the League of Nations resolved disputes
- identify the events that undermined the credibility of the League of Nations

Internationalism: placing global concerns before national considerations

Activity 1: Ideals

In the final point of his *Fourteen Points for a Just Peace*, President Woodrow Wilson offered the people of Europe a program for a just and lasting peace. He came to Paris with a plan by which the powers would bind themselves in an organization called the League of Nations. The British and French representatives at Paris lacked Wilson's enthusiasm for such an international organization. But the American president convinced them that some organization was essential to make the peace last and to solve future disputes between nations.

Global collective security: the idea that peace can be maintained if all nations act together to prevent aggression

The League of Nations, established in 1919, was the first attempt to organize a form of **global collective security** for all nations. Following are some of the most important clauses from its constitution (Covenant).

Examine the document and then complete the questions that follow.

The High Contracting Parties: diplomatic language that refers to the countries that signed the document

Arbitration: the process of bringing in a third party to solve a dispute

Judicial settlement: legal agreement

Pacific: peaceful

Ipsso facto: by the very nature of the fact

Severally: collectively, together

The High Contracting Parties, in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war; by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations; by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments; and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 4.

1. The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers (United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan), together with Representatives of four other Members of the League.

Article 10.

Guarantees Against Aggression. The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League.

Article 12.

Disputes to be Submitted for Settlement. 1. The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either in **arbitration** or **judicial settlement** or to inquiry by the Council and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award or the judicial decision, or the report by the Council.

Article 16.

Sanctions of **Pacific Settlement**

1. Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Article 12, 13 or 15, it shall **ipso facto** be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League which hereby undertake immediately to subject to the **severance** of all trade or financial relations.

2. It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military naval or air force the Members of the League shall **severally** contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.¹

¹ Bulletin No. 6, September 1930, League of Nations Association.

1. Summarize the stated goals of the League of Nations.

2. Which of the clauses presented seems to promise security to weaker nations?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 1.

President Woodrow Wilson was the leading supporter of global collective security. However, on his return to the United States of America from Paris, he found a great deal of opposition to the League of Nations in his own country. To convince the American people that the League of Nations was essential for a lasting peace, he went on a speaking tour. Before the tour was over, Wilson suffered a severe stroke. He never really recovered, and died in 1924. His efforts had undermined his health and had been in vain; the U.S. Senate never ratified the peace treaties and, thus, the U.S.A. was never a member of the League of Nations.



It is apparent that President Wilson had great faith in the idea of a League of Nations. Its basic purpose was to maintain world peace. How would it do so?

He thought that the mechanism would be discussion and arbitration. In other words, rather than war, there would be a hearing before a panel of judges picked by both sides which would make decisions about disputes. Members of the League would agree to this system by accepting the requirements of membership. Every member nation would be bound by the promise that it would not go to war without doing one of two things.

It would

- submit the question in conflict to arbitration and accept the arbitration decision

or

- send the problem for discussion by the council of the League of Nations
The nations would bring all the details before the council.

The council was to publish all the documents and facts so the world would understand the question. The council had six months to study the facts. Then it would deliver a suggested solution. Perhaps the nations in dispute would agree with the proposed answer. Perhaps they would not. If they were still in disagreement, they would promise not to go to war for three more months. Thus, there were nine months for discussion and cooling off.

What if a member disregarded the commitments to discussion and arbitration? Would there not be war? There shouldn't be, as the League had a second mechanism to make angry nations think twice about attacking their enemies. What would happen is that an aggressive country would be considered to have made war on all the League Nations. It would be shut out of trade and communication with all the other nations.

Wilson thought that no nation in Europe could withstand this treatment for six months. He believed nations would accept reason before this stage was reached. To him, arbitration and discussion was the answer – the real hope – for a peaceful Europe.

3. According to President Wilson, what were the three ways in which the League could settle disputes between nations and achieve global collective security?

- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 1.

Activity 2: Organization

The League of Nations began its life when its members settled into temporary accommodation in Geneva, in neutral Switzerland. As established, the League had two chambers – an Assembly and a Council. In the Assembly, which met at least once a year, all members of the League were represented. It was intended as a debating forum where every country, no matter how small, could discuss its concerns. Its powers were far-ranging because it could “deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of the League or affecting the peace of the world.”



These men drafted the Covenant of the League of Nations.

However, the major decisions of the League were taken by the Council, which was comprised of representatives of certain great powers that held permanent seats and a varying number of representatives elected for a set period of time by the Assembly. The Council met at least four times a year. Decisions were to be made by unanimous vote, and it was the Council that bore the responsibility for the maintenance of peace.

Keeping the peace proved to be the most difficult problem faced by the League. While all member nations believed in international cooperation, few, if any, were ready to give independent power to the League if national self-interest was jeopardized. Each state, therefore, accepted League policies only to the extent it wished, and this acceptance usually ended when League policies conflicted with national self-interest. However, even though the League had few major successes, valuable work was carried out by the Secretariat, the Commissions, and Special organizations.

Of very great importance was that the League of Nations Assembly became the parent of the United Nations General Assembly and the Council of the League the forerunner of the United Nations Security Council.

To arrange meetings, to receive reports, to register treaties, and to carry on the multiplicity of activities of the League was the role of the Secretariat. It was headed by a Secretary-General and staffed by people who, in effect, became an international civil service. To carry out the work of the League, these international civil servants organized commissions, plebiscites, committees, and bureaus. It is these organizations that achieved success even if the League's more significant aim, that of peace, was not attained.

Under the Mandates Commission, former German and Turkish colonies, which had been allocated to Allied powers, were administered. The League also organized plebiscites in various frontier regions to determine national sovereignty in those areas.

As well, the International Labour Organization (ILO), founded in 1919, was linked to the work of the League. Its intention was to improve conditions of work, to raise the minimum age at which children could be employed, and to encourage the establishment of pension schemes.

The League's Health organization helped combat the spread of epidemic disease, and the world body tried to eradicate slavery and control the drug trade, particularly in opium and heroin. These activities were motivated by **humanitarianism**.

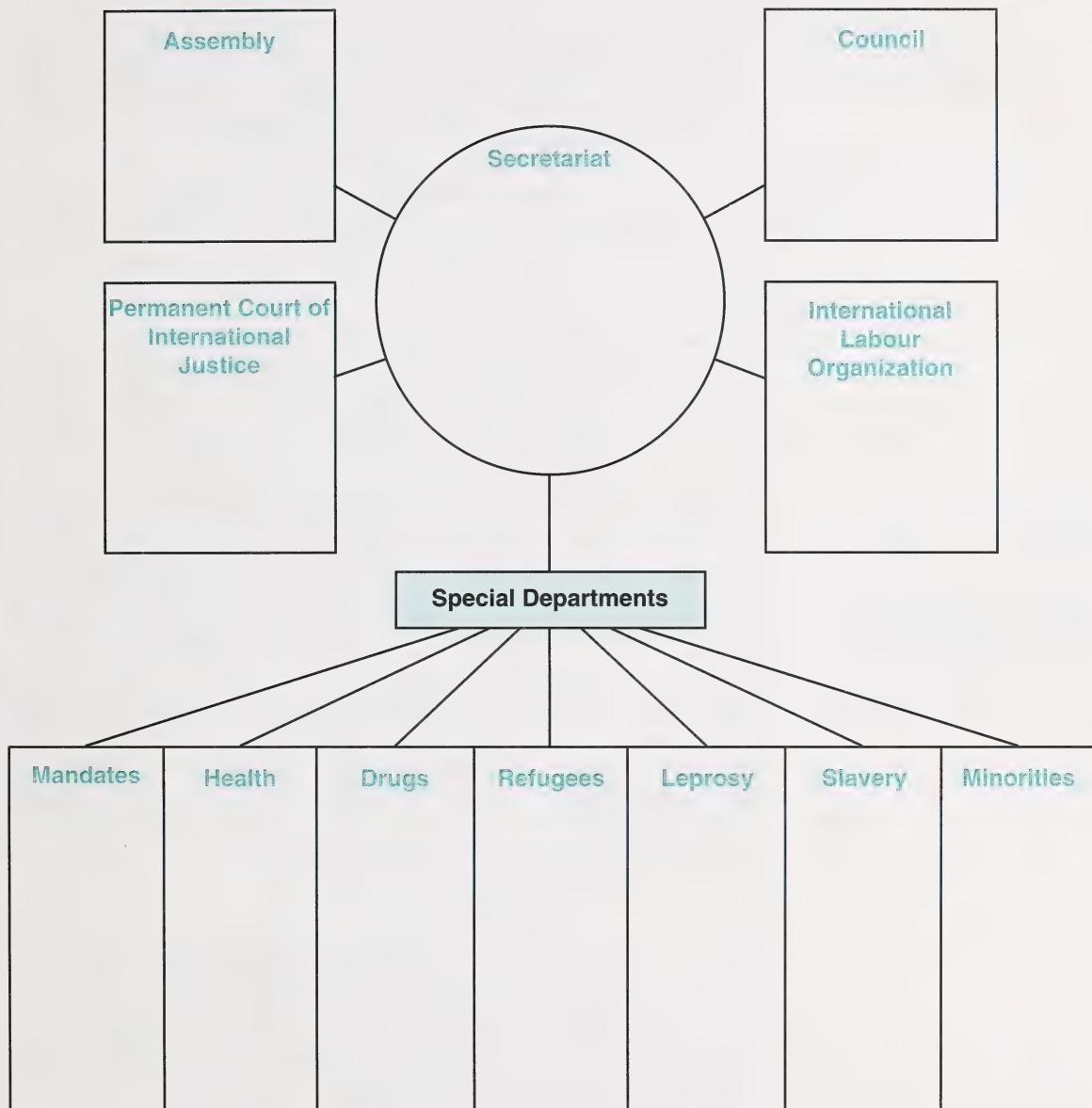
A League Commissioner administered the free city of Danzig, and the League controlled the Saar Basin. This latter responsibility was to last until 1935 when a plebiscite was to be arranged.

Finally, the League of Nations established the Permanent Court of International Justice. It was located at the Hague, and its purpose was to resolve legal problems between nations.

Although Wilson's great project proved generally ineffective in maintaining peace, it did accomplish many things in less spectacular ways. In summary, it checked the opium trade and aided poor and backward countries in controlling disease. It collected invaluable statistics on labour and business, administered plebiscites in disputed areas, supervised international cities (e.g., Danzig), helped find homes for rural and political refugees, and made a beginning in codifying international law. It was a groundwork for cooperation between nations.

Humanitarianism: desire for social reform to enhance human welfare

Use the preceding text to complete the chart that follows. Point-form notes should be used.



Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 2.

Activity 3: The League of (Some) Nations

The thirty-two Allied States that signed the treaties of peace plus thirteen neutral states were invited to join the League of Nations. But when the League met for the first time, there were only twenty-three members. By November 1920, there were forty-two members. In 1937, the last nation, Egypt, joined. Obviously, problems of membership dogged the League throughout its existence. Such problems began at the organization's inception when the U.S.A. didn't join.

A body designed to defend the international order and maintain the peace established in Paris needed the support of the great powers. Yet only two of the Big Three of Paris – Britain and France – joined. The absence of the U.S.A., therefore, was a serious matter if any nation challenged the terms of the treaties.

Neither was Russia a member. In 1919, no state in the world recognized Lenin's Russia. In fact, Britain and France had hoped for its collapse and had intervened in the Russian Civil War with that intention. The Bolsheviks had not been invited to Paris, and the two leading powers of the League were hardly likely to invite Russia to join a body that wanted to preserve peace when they saw the official policy of the Soviet government as being world revolution. As well, Britain and France wanted to retain the borders and the principle of **self-determination** (except for Germany) established in Paris. The buffer zone in central Europe was also important to them. Soviet Russia (after 1923 the **USSR** – the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) had not been a party to such negotiations. Furthermore, the Soviet communists were unlikely to join an organization which they viewed as being nothing more than an agency intent on furthering the interests of capitalism and imperialism.

Unlike the U.S.A. and Soviet Russia, Germany had signed the Treaty of Versailles. However, it was excluded from the League because none of the Allies believed that Germany was interested in keeping the peace until it had fully accepted the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles. It would have to live with the consequences of its defeat and then, and only then, would its membership in the League be considered. Such a time came in 1926, but German membership was short-lived. In 1933, Hitler withdrew Germany from the League.

With Hitler's achievement of power in Germany, the USSR under Stalin became increasingly concerned with security. Under the Nazis, who were virulently anti-communist, an aggressive Germany posed a serious threat to the world's only communist government. With the German threat from the west coupled with an aggressive Japan in the east, the USSR's policy shifted towards trying to achieve cooperation with other states against fascism. In 1934, the USSR joined the League, voicing the need for global collective security.

Self-determination: a nation's right to determine how the people of that nation will be governed

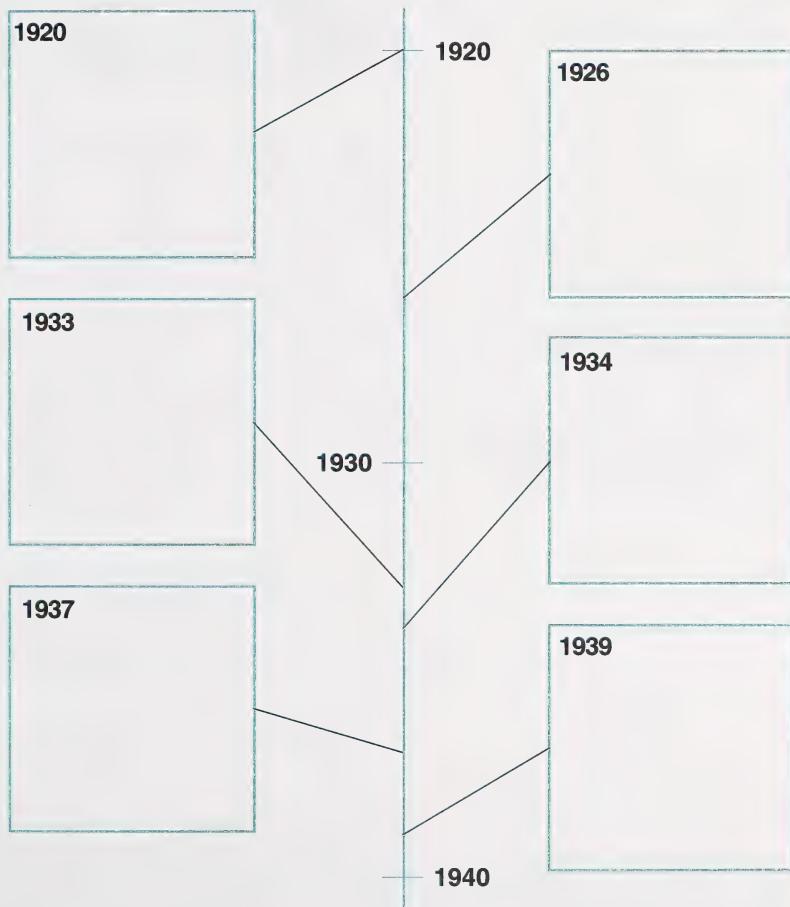
USSR: In Social 30 the former Soviet Union (USSR) will still be called the Soviet Union, even though the country no longer exists.

Spain was ravaged by a civil war between 1936–1939.

However, even before the USSR had joined the League, a permanent member of the Council from 1920 had left. When the League condemned Japan's invasion of Manchuria, Japan resigned from the organization in 1933. Italy was to do the same thing in 1937 after the League criticized its invasion of Abyssinia. In 1939, after attacking Finland, the USSR was expelled from the League. Spain withdrew its membership in 1939 after General Franco and the Nationalists defeated the Republicans and formed a Corporative State.

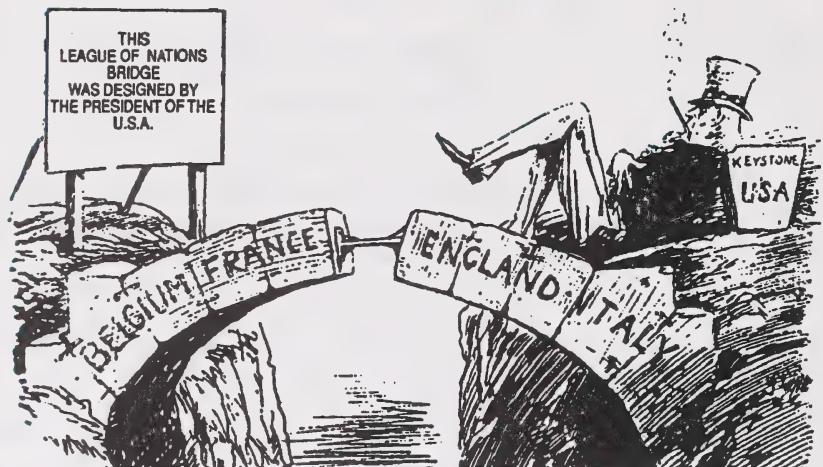
The League of Nations emerged out of a belief that all wars could be avoided if the moral force of world opinion was mobilized against it. But the League of Nations never represented world opinion because throughout its life, it was only a League of Some Nations.

1. Complete the following time chart which illustrates some of the events concerning membership in the League of Nations. Fill the “blocks” with point-form notes.



Study the following cartoon to answer the questions which follow.

The Gap in the Bridge



2. a. Which country's refusal to join the League of Nations created serious problems?

b. Why was this country so important to the success of the League?

Soviet Russia and Germany were originally excluded from the League when it was formed in 1920. The following quotes indicate how politicians from each of these countries viewed the League of Nations.

The League is a robber's den to safeguard the unjust spoils of Versailles.
— Lenin, Soviet leader

In many aspects the League is heir and executor of the treaties of 1919. Out of these treaties, there have arisen ... many differences between the League and Germany.

— G. Stresemann, foreign minister of Germany, two days after Germany joined the League in 1926

3. What arguments are offered to support the idea that the League of Nations suffered from being associated with the Paris Peace treaties?

4. On what grounds did Lenin argue that the League was “a robber’s den to safeguard the unjust spoils of Versailles”? To answer this, you may have to go back to Section 1 as well.

Lord Cecil in 1920 at the First Assembly of the League of Nations made the following claim:

By far the most powerful weapon at the command of the League of Nations is not the economic weapon or the military weapon or any other weapon of material force. By far, the strongest weapon we have is the weapon of public opinion.

5. Lord Cecil argues that public opinion can stop wars. Do you think that he was being optimistic in his judgement?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 3.

Activity 4: Some Successes and Failures in Maintaining Peace

The League had some successes in various fields and endeavors such as the League's making improvements in world health, taking care of refugees, and trying to suppress the opium trade. However, in the final analysis the organization was bound to be judged on the basis of how well it maintained the peace. In Articles 10 to 17 (some of which are included in Activity 1) the Covenant laid down the principles and procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and what should occur if peaceable settlement failed.

- If the territory and political independence of any member of the League was threatened by external aggression, the Council was authorized to advise what measures should be taken to halt such aggression.
- Any member of the Council or Assembly could call the League's attention to whatever instance threatened to disturb international peace.
- The Council was bound to meet at once to study the situation.
- Members of the League agreed to submit all disputes that could not be settled by diplomacy to arbitration – to judgement – before the Permanent Court of International Justice or to inquiry by the Council.
- In no circumstance could the nations in dispute resort to war until three months after the decision by the Permanent Court of International Justice or the report of the inquiry of the Council.
- If a member did go to war in defiance of its obligations to the League, it would be subject to economic blockade (trade sanctions) by the other members of the League. These obligations were contained in the Covenant which all member nations had accepted on joining the League.
- If trade sanctions failed, the League could impose its will by force and engage in military action to protect the covenant. Of course, no international "police force" was ever provided. This was a major weakness of the League.

In the period between 1920 and 1936, the League intervened to try to solve international disputes, but it did not always meet with success.

As you read the text that follows and examine the maps that accompany it, you should complete the following chart.

The League of Nations at Work

	Date	Countries Involved in the Dispute	Areas of Dispute	Details of Dispute	Result	Success or Failure of League
A	1920	Finland vs. Sweden	Aaland Islands			
B	1921–22	Germany vs. Poland	Silesia			
C	1923	Italy vs. Greece	Corfu			
D	1924–25	Turkey vs. Iraq	Mosul			
E	1925	Bulgaria vs. Greece	Border Dispute			
F	1931	Japan vs. China	Manchuria			
G	1935–36	Italy vs. Abyssinia	Abyssinian Independence			

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 4.

A. Finland vs. Sweden



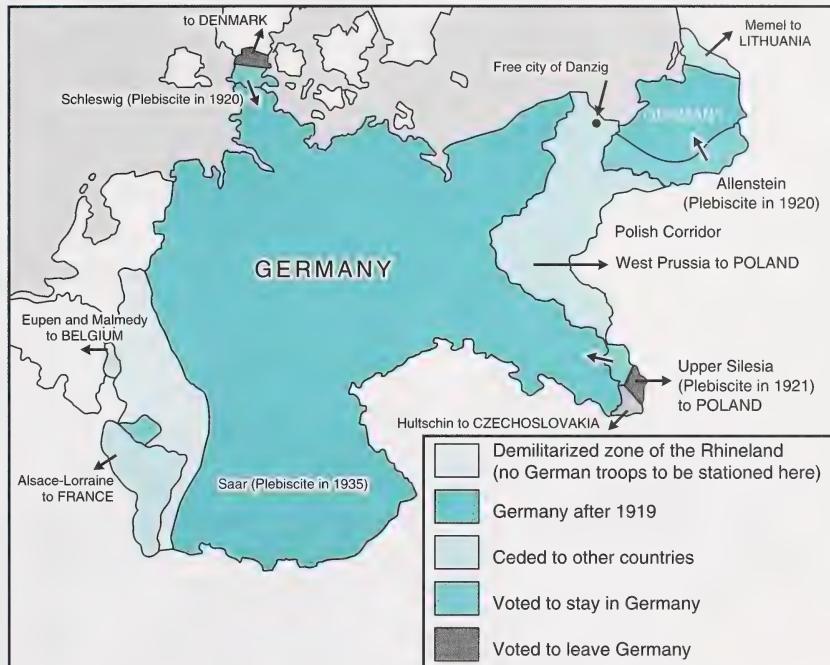
Finland, conquered by Russia in 1809 after some six hundred years of Swedish rule, emerged as an independent state out of the trials of World War I and the Russian Civil War. In October 1920, Finland signed a treaty with Soviet Russia which recognized the Finnish Republic. However, although the agreement removed the major obstacle to Finland's peaceful development, there still remained the question of the Åland Islands.

Geographically and historically the islands had been part of Finland, but they were of strategic importance to Sweden and were inhabited entirely by Swedes. In the unrest that had occurred in Finland in 1917, Sweden had encouraged the Ålanders to declare a union with Sweden, and in reply the Finns had used military force on the islands.

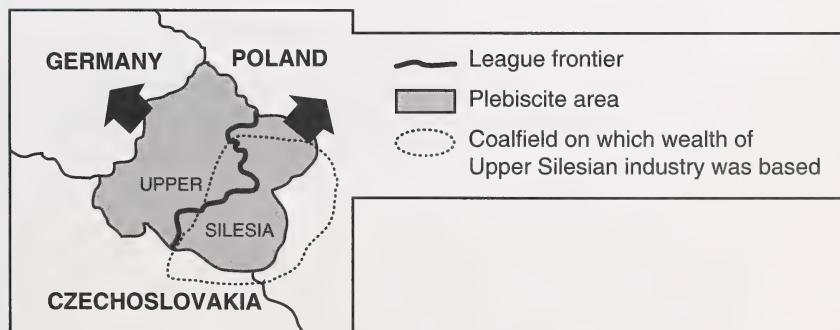
To avert war between the two countries, a League of Nations commission concluded that the Islands should remain under Finnish control but that the Islands should be demilitarized and the Ålanders should have self-government and the right to appeal directly to the League if the Finns violated their rights. In one of its earliest actions, the League had provided an acceptable answer to a small but troublesome problem.

B. Germany vs. Poland

Under the Treaty of Versailles, Germany had lost some territory in the west, but by far its greatest losses were its claims to sovereignty in the east. Poland was given access to the sea through the Polish Corridor, and Germany might also lose Upper Silesia if a plebiscite went against German sovereignty.



Plebiscites had already been held in 1920 over Schleswig and Allenstein, but Upper Silesia posed a difficult problem because of the makeup of the region in terms of German and Polish nationals. In 1921, the people were asked to vote in a plebiscite to decide with which country to unite. Germany received 700 000 votes and Poland 480 000. What should the League do under such circumstances?



It decided to partition Upper Silesia between Poland and Germany. Although this seemed fair, Poland ended up with the rich, industrial part of Upper Silesia, and so the Germans were bitter about the loss. Obviously, the principle of partition was not a permanent solution, and there was constant squabbling between Poland and Germany over the next seventeen years.

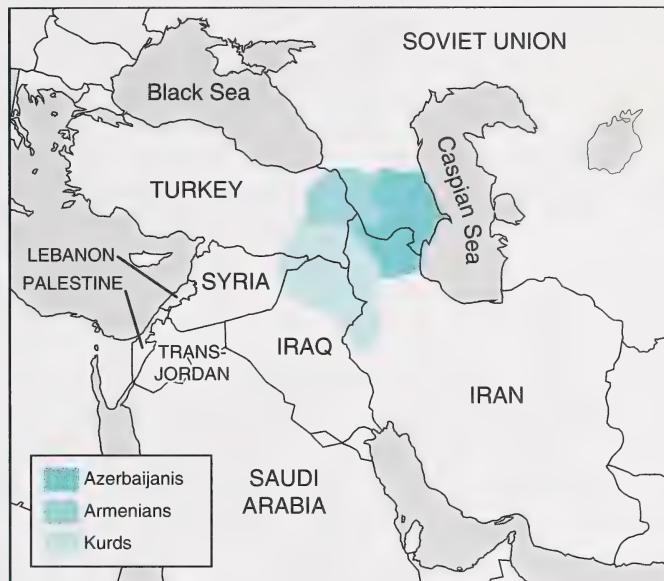
C. Italy vs. Greece

In 1923, an incident took place which really tested the ability of the League to maintain the peace. While attempting to resolve a border dispute between Greece and Albania, five Italian officers, including a general, were shot and killed by Greeks. Mussolini, the Italian dictator, reacted to the news by demanding compensation from the Greeks. When this was not immediately forthcoming, he ordered the bombardment and capture of the Greek Island of Corfu.



Greece protested to the League of Nations, but as Italy was one of the permanent members of the Council, the League acted cautiously. The British and French governments worked out a compromise after Mussolini refused to accept the League's ruling. Greece paid compensation, and Italy withdrew from Corfu. However, Italy's action was not condemned by the League.

D. Turkey vs. Iraq



The Treaty of Lausanne made provision for the boundaries of the new Turkey. However, a controversial problem was the southeastern border on the new Turkey inhabited by the turbulent Kurds. Mosul was the key city in this region. It was the centre of oil production as well as the hub of river and land communications.

The League decided the frontier dispute in favour of Iraq rather than Turkey, and thus Mosul stayed within the boundaries established at Lausanne. It stayed in British-Mandated Iraq, while Turkey received modest financial compensation only. Undoubtedly, the Turks were displeased. The British, one of the permanent members of the Council, were satisfied.

E. Greece vs. Bulgaria

The activities of national expansion in the Balkans undertaken before World War I (the Balkan Wars) and then during and after World War I, left Greece with many enemies. Problems with Turkey had been partly solved with the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), but difficulties remained with Albania (see C – the Corfu Incident) and with Bulgaria.

Greek and Bulgarian hostilities were inherited from the Balkan Wars and heightened by the Treaty of Neuilly (1919) which gave Western Thrace to Greece. Bulgaria never gave up its claim to the region because to have sovereignty over Western Thrace provided access to the Aegean Sea. Hostility over this region led to numerous border incidents and in 1925 one such incident led to a Greek invasion and occupation of a portion of southern Bulgaria by the Greek army.

Bulgarian Territory Lost to Greece (Treaty of Neuilly)



Bulgaria appealed to the League of Nations and, after an investigation, the Greek action was condemned. The Greek army was ordered to withdraw, and the Greek government ordered to pay an indemnity of \$225 000. The League had settled this issue peacefully although it had not resolved the larger concerns between these two countries.

F. Japan vs. China

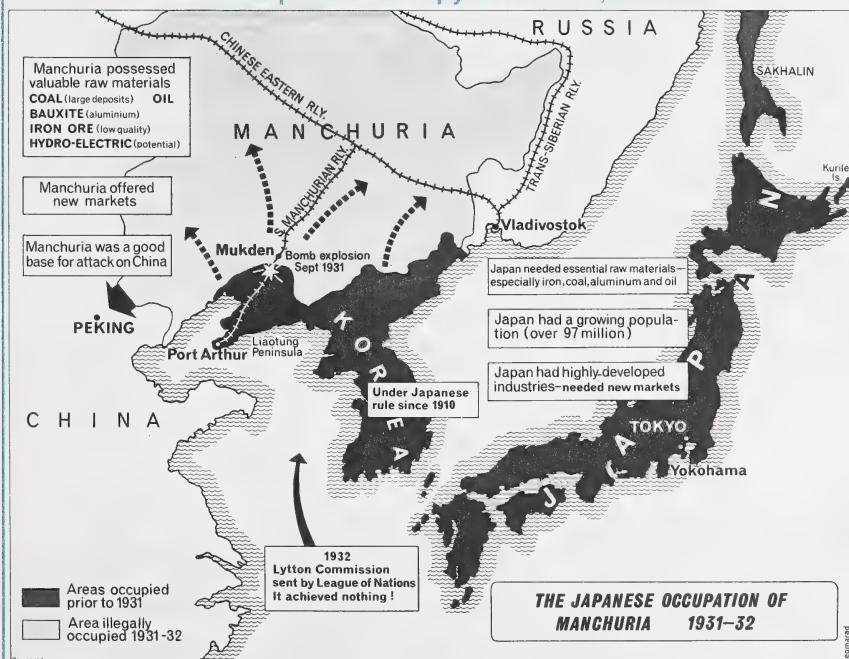
Early in the 1900s, Japan began to have problems. The small island nation lacked resources such as oil, iron, and rubber, as well as other basic products. Japan did not have enough land for its growing population. Japanese who wished to emigrate to other countries could not because there were restrictions on the number of Japanese immigrants many countries would accept. The answer seemed to be to expand overseas.

There was strong military influence in the Japanese government. Admirals and generals had dreams of glory for Japan and they wanted Japan to displace British, European, and American influence in the Orient. Many army officers were conscious of the fact that without raw materials, military expansion and territorial expansion could not take place.

By 1920, Japan was the only independent Asian nation with its own colonial empire. This empire had been expanded under the provisions of the Paris Peace treaties when Japan took over the Mariana and Caroline Islands as League of Nations Mandates. Japan was Asia's most important industrial and trading power, but by 1929 the Great Depression began to undermine the economy. The decline of trade and the erection of tariff barriers worsened the problem, and by 1931, the Japanese economy, like all other industrial economies was in serious trouble, with millions of unemployed. Japan could not afford to buy badly needed raw materials and resources that it didn't produce itself. One solution was to seize land that produced these materials, and Manchuria was such a territory.

Japan already had economic interests in the northern Chinese province of Manchuria, notably in coal and iron ore, mining, and railways. To protect these interests, the Japanese had insisted on maintaining an army at Port Arthur (see map). It was the officers of this army who planned to annex Manchuria as a prelude to greater ambitions. They "manufactured" a shooting incident between Japanese and Chinese soldiers in September 1931 and used it as an excuse to launch an invasion. The civilian government in Tokyo objected, but it didn't have the power to oppose the army. Eventually the government was to fall under the total control of the military, and this led to the seizure of more territory in Asia.

The Japanese Occupy Manchuria, 1931–32



¹Heinemann Publishers (Oxford) Ltd. for the map from *A Map History of the Modern World 1890 to the Present Day* by Brian Catchpole. Reprinted by permission of Heinemann Publishers (Oxford) Ltd.

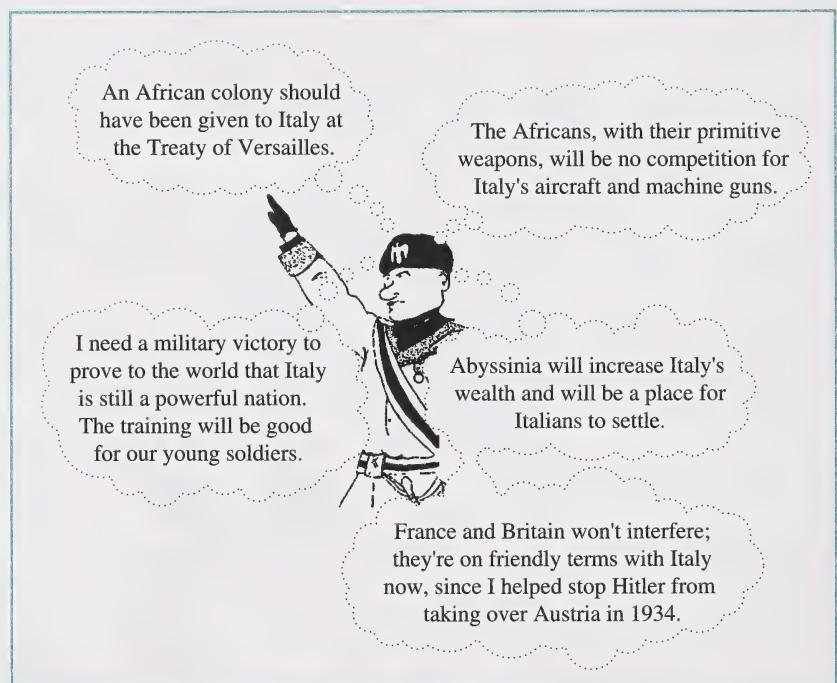
In reply to the invasion of Manchuria, the Chinese, already torn by deep internal divisions and being unable to act against the Japanese army, complained to the League of Nations. In response, the League sent the Lytton Commission to investigate. Japan was condemned and ordered to leave Manchuria. The Japanese government, which couldn't control its own army, did not comply, and the League, which could not back up its order by force, was helpless.

In the spring of 1933, Japan left the League.

Note: During this time period, Ethiopia was called Abyssinia.

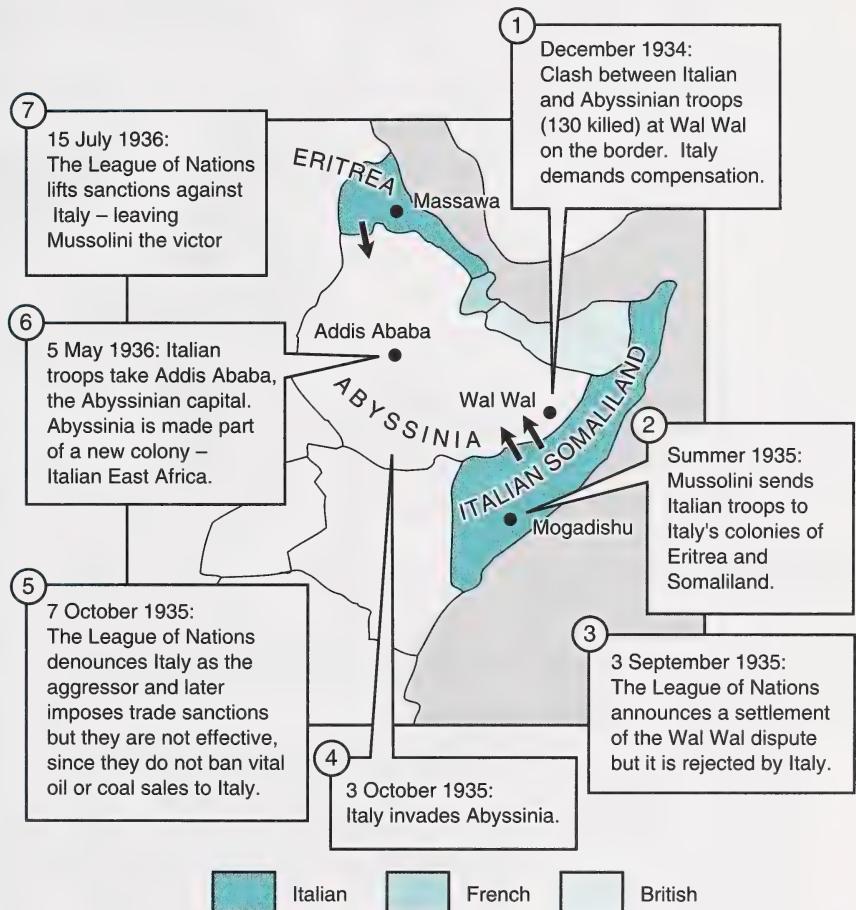
G. Italy vs. Abyssinia

Ever since coming to power in 1922, Mussolini, Italy's fascist dictator, had expressed ambition to establish a large overseas empire. Italy already controlled territory in North Africa, namely Libya, Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland, when Mussolini came to power; but it wanted more.



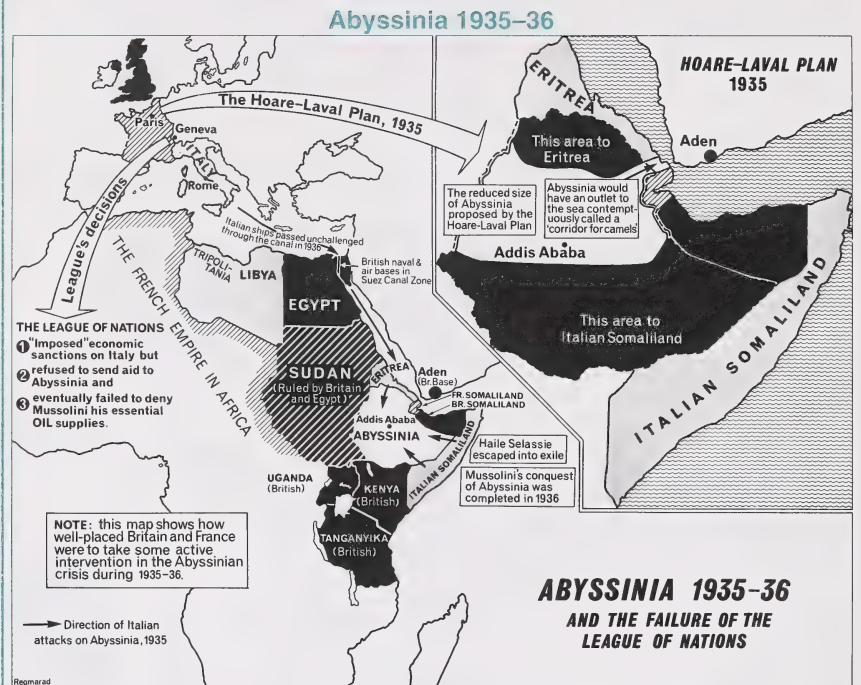
Mussolini's boast about his relationship with Britain and France is interesting. In 1934, Hitler had given encouragement to Austrian Nazis to overthrow the Austrian government with the hope that *Anschluss* with Germany would be the result. The revolt was put down by the Austrian army but only after Mussolini had threatened to move troops to the frontier.

Britain and France had a common interest with Italy in keeping Nazi Germany out of Austria. In April 1935, their representatives met at Stresa and declared that they would uphold Austrian independence and protested German rearmament. In other words, they would uphold the Treaty of Versailles. Obviously, Mussolini believed Britain and France would not oppose his Abyssinian adventure, and even while the representatives were meeting at Stresa, Italian transports were on their way to northeast Africa.



In October 1935, Italy invaded Abyssinia, and Emperor Haile Selassie appealed to the League of Nations. This placed Britain and France in a very difficult situation. As permanent members of the Council they were compelled to condemn aggression. At the same time, they didn't want to undermine their relationship with Mussolini and give Hitler the opportunity to cement a friendship with the Italians. Therefore, in public they condemned Italy, and in private tried to undermine the sanctions imposed by the League.

In an attempt at a cynical compromise, Britain and France proposed the Hoare-Laval Plan, but it was met with condemnation in both countries and abandoned. By mid-1936, Italy had control of Abyssinia.



Britain and France had the opportunity to lead the League of Nations in collective action. They chose instead to pursue another course. The League had been dealt a blow from which it could not recover. In 1937, Italy left the League.

Activity 5: The Fate of the League

The failure of the League of Nations to deal with the Manchurian crisis and the invasion of Abyssinia showed the League's inability to maintain global collective security.

The following are some opinions of the effects of the Manchurian crisis on the League of Nations:

- “Manchuria demonstrated that the League was toothless.”
— A.P. Adamwaite, *The Making of the Second World War, 1977*

¹Heinemann Publishers (Oxford) Ltd. for the map from *A Map History of the Modern World 1890 to the Present Day* by Brian Catchpole. Reprinted by permission of Heinemann Publishers (Oxford) Ltd.

- “The failure of the League of Nations to stop aggression in Manchuria had grave consequences in Europe too... The lesson was plain; there was no power in the world to stop a determined aggressor.”

– John Robottom, *Modern China, 1967*

- In 1933 Dr. Wellington Koo, China’s representative to the League of Nations Assembly, warned: “The absence of any effective action by the League (over Manchuria) had encouraged those who all along had been proclaiming the belief that might is right.”

– Quoted in A.P. Adamwaite, *The Making of the Second World War*

1. a. What do all three opinions have in common?

- b. Do you agree with the opinions given? Explain.

Abyssinia's Emperor, Haile Selassie, protested to the League against the Italian invasion in 1935.

In October 1935, Italian troops invaded my territory ...

In that unequal struggle between a government commanding more than 42,000,000 inhabitants and having at its disposal financial, industrial and technical means which enabled it to create unlimited quantities of the most death-dealing weapons, and on the other hand, a small people of 12,000,000 inhabitants, without arms, without resources and having on its side only the justice of its cause and the promise of the League of Nations, what real assistance was given to Ethiopia by the fifty-two nations who had declared the Rome Government guilty of a breach of the covenant ...?

I assert that the problem submitted to the Assembly today is much wider than merely a question of settlement of Italian aggression; it is collective security, it is the very existence of the League.

Representatives of the world. What reply have I to take back to my people?

– Quoted in *New York Times*, July 1, 1936

2. a. What did Haile Selassie predict would be the fate of the League if Abyssinia didn't get support?

b. Was he right? Explain.

3. What factors led to the League's inability to achieve global collective security?
(To answer this, you should review the entire section.)

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 5.

Activity 6: Review

Select the answer that best completes each of the following.

_____ 1. The creation of the League of Nations in 1919, supports the generalization that

- A. the victors in major international conflicts have ignored the claims of their allies
- B. participation by all Great Powers is not essential for the success of any international peacekeeping agency
- C. member nations in international peace organizations have often sacrificed sovereignty to achieve collective security
- D. attempts to achieve international peace have often arisen from human experience with the destructiveness of war

Use the information in the box that follows to answer question 2.

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League.

– Article X, *League of Nations Charter*

_____ 2. Article X of the League of Nations Charter reflects a desire for

- A. global collective security
- B. international equity
- C. global prosperity
- D. national unity

_____ 3. Which activity did the League of Nations avoid using as a means of preserving international peace?

- A. supervising plebiscites
- B. promoting regional alliances
- C. encouraging self-determination
- D. inaugurating diplomatic negotiations

_____ 4. Which of the following actions resulted in an attempt by the League of Nations to impose economic sanctions?

- A. the Italian occupation of Corfu
- B. the German discontent over Upper Silesia
- C. the invasion of Manchuria by Japan
- D. the invasion of Ethiopia by Italy

_____ 5. Japanese territorial ambitions in the early 1930s were primarily motivated by a desire to

- secure needed natural resources
- test new military strategies and tactics
- form alliances with other nations
- liberate Asians from former colonial masters

_____ 6. Which of the following disputes were successfully mediated by the League of Nations?

- the Japanese invasion of Manchuria
- the French control of the Saar
- the Italian invasion of Ethiopia
- the Italian occupation of Corfu

_____ 7. To a supporter of the goals of the League of Nations, the **most** desirable response from a nation threatened by aggression would be a

- return to balance-of-power politics
- reliance on the safety of regional alliances
- commitment to a foreign policy of isolationism
- commitment to the principle of global collective security

_____ 8. Which feature concerning the League of Nations probably contributed **most** to disappointing Woodrow Wilson?

- the inability of the League to deal effectively with aggression
- the absence of League jurisdiction over international relations
- the failure of the U.S.A. to sign the original League mandate
- the exclusion of Germany and Japan from League membership

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Activity 6.

Follow-up Activities

If you had difficulties understanding the concepts in the activities, it is recommended that you do the Extra Help. If you have a clear understanding of the concepts, it is recommended that you do the Enrichment.

Extra Help

This exercise will help you review the main terms and concepts of Section 2. Place the letter of the correct term before each definition.

Terms	Descriptions
a. Manchuria	_____ 1. American president who proposed the League of Nations
b. council	_____ 2. site chosen as the meeting place for the League of Nations
c. assembly	_____ 3. principle on which the League of Nations was founded
d. U.S.A.	_____ 4. a belief some hoped the League would overcome
e. Germany	_____ 5. the basis on which the Permanent Court of International Justice would make its judgements
f. Mosul	_____ 6. body that contained four permanent members
g. Wilson	_____ 7. method by which the League would act to protect the Covenant
h. Corfu	_____ 8. the chamber in which all members were represented
i. humanitarianism	_____ 9. international civil service
j. national self-interest	_____ 10. former German or Turkish territory governed by Allied powers in trust for the League of Nations
k. Covenant	_____ 11. Allied power at Paris that was never a member of the League
l. Geneva	_____ 12. nation that joined the League in 1934
m. international law	_____ 13. nation that joined in 1926 after signing the Locarno Treaty

Terms	Descriptions
n. Abyssinia	_____ 14. disputes between Finland and Sweden resolved by the League
o. secretariat	_____ 15. region divided between Poland and Germany after a plebiscite
p. global collective security	_____ 16. disputed region in the Middle East decided by the League in favour of the British Mandate of Iraq
q. sanctions	_____ 17. island invaded by Italy after a border incident in which Italians were killed
r. mandate	_____ 18. Chinese territory invaded by Japan in 1931
s. USSR	_____ 19. country that begged for help but was unaided by the League
t. Aaland Islands	_____ 20. constitution of the League of Nations
u. Upper Silesia	_____ 21. desire for social reform to enhance human welfare

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Extra Help.

Enrichment

President Wilson harboured great hope for the League of Nations. He thought it would prevent war with no other force but international law and public opinion to enforce peace. A story circulated in Paris concerning a discussion Wilson had with Clemenceau which apparently went as set out in the following dialogue.

Read the discussion and then respond to the exercise.

Clemenceau: You expect a great deal from the League of Nations, Mr. Wilson. What can be achieved through it?

Wilson: The purpose of the League of Nations is to prevent wars.

Clemenceau: No organization can prevent war unless three principles are accepted and realized.

Wilson: Interesting! Would you be so kind as to state them.

Clemenceau: First there must be racial equality and Japan demands that it be a part of the Treaty of the League. Could you accept that?

Wilson: Unfortunately, no. We have a lot of racial problems in the United States and a treaty requiring equality wouldn't get past the Senate.

Clemenceau: The second requirement is freedom of immigration so people may move freely to other countries to live.

Wilson: This would not happen in America. We do not want any Orientals, and European immigration is to be restricted.

Clemenceau: There is still another necessity. There must be free trade throughout the world. Would you agree to that?

Wilson: For myself, I certainly would, and we have lowered tariffs in the United States. However, the Congress would not agree to giving up all control over our foreign trade.

Clemenceau: It is as I thought. The League of Nations cannot ensure peace. The only means is to be strong ourselves and to keep enemies and rivals in a weaker state.

1. What was Wilson's aim in promoting the League of Nations?

2. What three principles did Clemenceau offer as the basis for world peace?

- _____
- _____
- _____

3. How did Wilson respond to Clemenceau's principles?

- _____
- _____
- _____

- _____

- _____

4. a. What was Clemenceau's basis for maintaining peace?

b. How did it differ from Wilson's beliefs?

5. In thinking about the work you have completed in Sections 1 and 2 of this module, would it be reasonable to conclude that President Wilson was "idealistic and naive"? Give reasons for your response.

6. a. Would you consider Clemenceau to be a realist? Give reasons for your response.

b. What do you think were his expectations of the League of Nations?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 2: Enrichment.

Conclusion

Woodrow Wilson travelled to Paris with the dream of establishing the League of Nations as an international instrument that would make World War I the “war to end all wars.” He hoped that particular provisions in the Covenant would prevent war from breaking out. But if they failed, then he expected peace-loving nations to impose peace on aggressors through sanctions and penalties. His ideas were based on a belief in internationalism.

As well, Wilson saw the League of Nations as an organization that would pursue humanitarian goals. For this reason, special departments were created to deal with problems such as drugs, slavery, and refugees.

What then can be said of the League of Nations? Was it a success or a failure? In a sense it was both. It failed to maintain peace because national self-interest triumphed over Wilson’s ideal of peace achieved by international cooperation. However, in some limited spheres it did resolve some disputes between nations, and it did encourage and carry out humanitarian work in various parts of the world. On these occasions, it did show that attempts at international cooperation are sometimes successful, even if achieving peace was beyond its capabilities.

To discover why peace could not be achieved, it is necessary to examine the motives of the major nation-states. You will see how they responded to the circumstances they faced in Section 3 and Section 4.

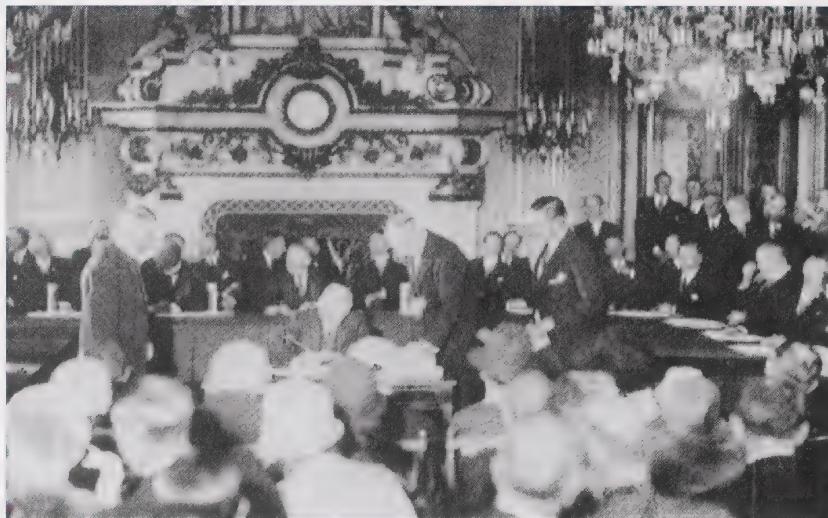
ASSIGNMENT

Turn to your Assignment Booklet and do the assignment for this section.

Section

3

The Foreign Policies of the Major Powers



United States Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg, signs the Peace Pact at Versailles on August 31, 1928.

What situations can you think of where it was important to have an alternate or back-up plan in case things didn't work out as originally planned? Does having an alternative make you feel more safe or secure? In this section you will learn about why some of the countries that belonged to the League of Nations made international agreements outside the League to add to their national security.

While the League of Nations performed many useful functions, it was seen primarily as an instrument for the preservation of peace. But from its inception, many diplomats and statesmen saw the League as an organization without sufficient strength to ensure peace. Such concerns led nations, quite soon after 1920, to seek international agreements outside the Geneva body. Such agreements served to emphasize a widely held belief that the League's hope of establishing international cooperation, peace, and security would remain unfulfilled.

Upon completion of this section you should be able to

- identify the major concerns of the major nations between 1920 and 1933
- understand how the major nations attempted to achieve national security between 1920 and 1933
- explain the limited role played by the League of Nations in achieving national security for its members

Activity 1: America and Isolationism

First on November 19, 1919, and then again on March 20, 1920, the United States Senate rejected the treaties negotiated at Paris and with them the League of Nations. Some Senators thought Germany had been treated too harshly; others did not want the United States to get “tangled up in European affairs” and, worse, another European war. Many Americans, it seemed, believed that membership in the League would turn the temporary involvement of the United States in Europe into a permanent responsibility. It was time for America to return to “normalcy”—for America to pursue America’s interests. President Harding (1920–23) spoke of a “return to normalcy”; President Coolidge (1923–29) uttered the claim: “The business of America is business.” What this meant was a policy of isolationism.

1. What were three reasons for the American policy of isolationism?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 1.

American Aid

But not all of American policy after 1920 was isolationist. For example, government and private aid was given to relieve suffering in Europe and the Middle East. The American Relief Fund provided food in Russia in 1922 when the republic was faced with massive food shortages. With its Near East Relief, another significant effort was organized to relieve the massive suffering of refugees produced as a result of the Greek-Turkish War (1920–22). Some have estimated that the American effort may have saved eleven million lives.

War Debts

Neither did the U.S.A. turn its back on Europe in the matter of war debts because these directly affected American interests. Throughout World War I, American armaments manufacturers had prospered, selling arms to the Allies. Britain and France had borrowed money from the United States Government to pay for the purchases. Britain had borrowed from the U.S.A. during the war. Some of this money was then loaned by Britain to its European Allies. German reparations, fixed at \$33 billion in 1921 (See Section 1), were inseparable from the inter-allied war debts because the European Allies expected to use them to repay each other and the United States.

Debts were to bear interest at 5%. From Britain alone over \$4 billion was due. In 1922 the British suggested all inter-allied debt be cancelled. This was rejected in the U.S. Further problems in repayment were to occur when the U.S.A. increased its tariffs which made it more difficult for the Europeans to repay their debts by the export of goods to the U.S.

Allied Debts Owed to the U.S.A., 1918

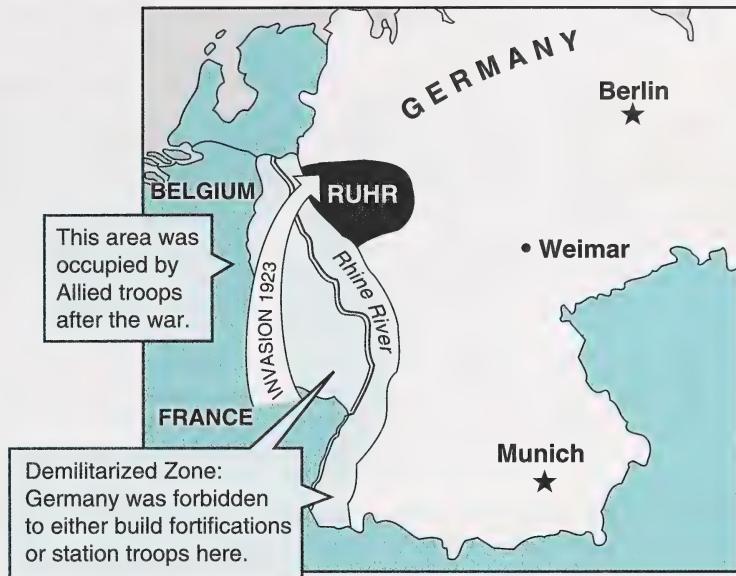
France	Italy	Russia	Belgium	Britain
\$2 997 million	\$1 640 million	\$187 million	\$349 million	\$4 277 million

The problem of war debts and their link with reparations became even more acute and demanded American involvement when the German Republic (The Weimar Republic) was confronted by runaway inflation. Between 1919 and 1923, the government spent significantly more than it collected in taxes. To continue spending, it simply printed more money, and the result was hyper-inflation.

German Inflation

Dec. 1923	→	£1 = 22 300 000 000 marks
Nov. 1923	→	£1 = 21 000 000 000 marks
Jan. 1923	→	£1 = 89 860 marks
Dec. 1922	→	£1 = 50 000 marks
June 1922	→	£1 = 1 500 marks
Jan. 1922	→	£1 = 959 marks
Nov. 1921	→	£1 = 313 marks
May 1921	→	£1 = 74 marks
Nov. 1918	→	£1 = 20 marks

In December 1922, the German government suspended reparation payments. On January 11, 1923, the French and Belgian governments sent in troops to occupy the Ruhr coalfield, the centre of Germany industry. They expected to seize the products of German industry to make up for the missed payments.

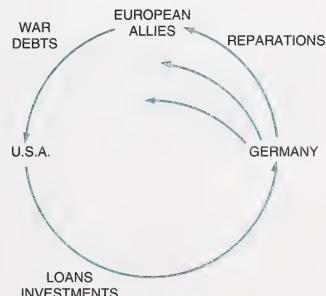


In response to the crisis, the Americans sent Chicago financier Charles Dawes to Europe. He developed the Dawes Plan (1924) which called for

- the evacuation of the Ruhr by French and Belgian troops
- reparation payments starting at \$250 million and increasing over four years to \$625 million
- American short-term loans and investment in Germany
- discussion of the issue of reparations and Germany's ability to pay

In 1929, the Americans were involved again. This time they devised the Young Plan which recognized the link between war debts and reparations. Wall Street financier Owen Young scaled down reparation payments and encouraged the Allied powers to accept payment over sixty years.

The acceptance of the Dawes Plan and the establishment of a new currency were partly responsible for a period of prosperity in Germany. From 1924 to 1930, Germany paid a total of nearly \$2 billion in reparations. This, along with the Young Plan and the Kellogg-Briand Pact (see Activity 2), was America's only contribution to the economic restructuring and security of Europe. It wasn't total isolation, but it was nearly so; and the U.S.A. had essentially disentangled itself from European politics. Isolationism was the U.S.A.'s means for achieving national security.



2. Complete the chart that follows.

Summary of American Foreign Policy, 1919–1933

Policies that Reflect an Isolationist Stance	Policies that Reflect a Non-Isolationist Stance
• _____	• _____
_____	_____
_____	_____
• _____	• _____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 1.

Activity 2: France and the Search for National Security

National security: safety of a nation; policies to ensure national security are policies intended to secure a nation's safety

At the Paris Peace Conference all the delegates wanted to establish terms which would ensure lasting peace in Europe. But for France peace could only be guaranteed if Germany was weakened both militarily and economically. Nearly 1.5 million French citizens had died in World War I, and after such a catastrophe French people desired above all else **national security** against a “German war of vengeance.” At Paris, Georges Clemenceau pressed hard for a treaty that would guarantee French aspirations, but he never got all that he demanded.

For example, Clemenceau wanted the west bank of the Rhine to become French territory. The British had no interest in France’s becoming the “strong man” of Europe and the Rhineland did not become part of France. Instead it was demilitarized for fifteen years – a compromise position.

However, at least on paper, the Treaty of Versailles seemed to have weakened Germany considerably; but the French worried that Germany would recover, rearm, and once more threaten French interests. To counter such a possibility France sought allies to allay concerns over regional security, negotiated agreements to guarantee international frontiers, and pursued protocols to reduce armaments. France established such regional security agreements, not because they wished to undermine the League of Nations, but because they believed the League could not protect their national security concerns.

France signed a military agreement with Belgium in 1920. French and Belgian forces occupied the Ruhr between 1923 and 1925.

In 1921, France formed a military alliance with Poland. Obviously both countries had very serious concerns about a resurgent Germany. Both opposed revisions to the Treaty of Versailles.

Regional security: safety of a particular area, sometimes attempted through regional alliances

Also by 1921, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia had formed the Little Entente to prevent any treaty revisions by Hungary. France was the Entente’s most ardent supporter and supplied military aid. This represented **regional security**. All four countries opposed revisions to the treaties.

What France wanted from Germany, after two damaging invasions in fifty years, was, above all, security. As M. Clemenceau (the French prime minister) told the peace conference in January 1919: “If a new war should take place, Germany would not throw her forces upon Cuba or upon Honduras, but upon France; it would always be upon France.”

1. Why was France so worried about a strong Germany?

2. How did France intend to keep Germany under control?

France Searches for Security



Alliances: agreements between countries for defensive or aggressive purposes

3. Use the map to determine why France sought military **alliances** with Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

4. What common factor existed between the French and Polish concerns about a strong Germany and the Little Entente's concern about a belligerent Hungary?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 2.

The Dawes Plan (Activity 1), which seemed to have settled the reparations issue, and the revival of the German economy opened the door to negotiations among European powers about Germany's frontiers. Britain, which had scuttled the Geneva Protocol, was prepared to consider the specific question of the border between France and Germany; and so the interested parties met in Locarno (Switzerland) to frame a series of agreements. Negotiations took place throughout much of 1925 and were finally signed in December.

In the Locarno treaties, Germany accepted its western and eastern borders as fixed. Agreement was also achieved on an arbitration method in the event of a dispute. The major achievement, however, was a treaty of mutual guarantee signed by Germany, Belgium, France, England, and Italy.

The agreement created a mood of elation in western Europe. This attitude was given more substance in 1926 when Germany joined the League of Nations. Locarno seemed the turning point between the years of war and the years of peace. Germany could now feel itself to be an equal partner in Europe. Furthermore, Locarno raised hopes that further revisions to the Treaty of Versailles could be made peacefully.

However, Locarno has been criticized because it made one set of frontiers more inviolable than the others. Britain and Italy were bound to act if Germany or France tried to change Western frontiers (borders between France, Germany, and Belgium), but Britain and Italy refused to assume similar responsibilities if there was a violation of the eastern frontiers (borders between Germany and Poland and Germany and Czechoslovakia). In other words, some provisions of the Treaty of Versailles were given a privileged position despite the urgings of France to achieve, for the eastern frontiers, what had been guaranteed for those in the West. In an effort to shore up this weakness, France signed mutual assistance agreements (1925) with Poland and Czechoslovakia to aid them in the event of violations of their frontiers. Britain refused to follow suit. It was more concerned with other pressing problems than it was with the eastern frontiers established by the peace treaties in 1919 (see Activity 3).

The French Alliance System, 1920–1933



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5. Why did the Locarno treaties create such elation in parts of Europe?

6. a. How did Locarno weaken some of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles?

b. Which country would have been most pleased? Explain.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 2.

France's last major effort at involving other nations in helping maintain its national security began when French Foreign Minister, Aristide Briand, attempted to involve isolationist America in peaceful diplomacy. He suggested to the American Secretary of State, Frank Kellogg, that France and the United States should jointly renounce war as a means of settling international disputes. But the Americans believed that a joint French-American agreement might be viewed as a bilateral alliance, and so they proposed instead that other nations should sign the declaration as well.

On August 27, 1928, the Kellogg-Briand Pact (Declaration of Paris) was signed in Paris by Germany, the U.S.A., Belgium, France, Britain, Italy, Japan, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Eventually, over sixty nations signed the Pact, including the USSR. Here is how the matter was stated:

The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

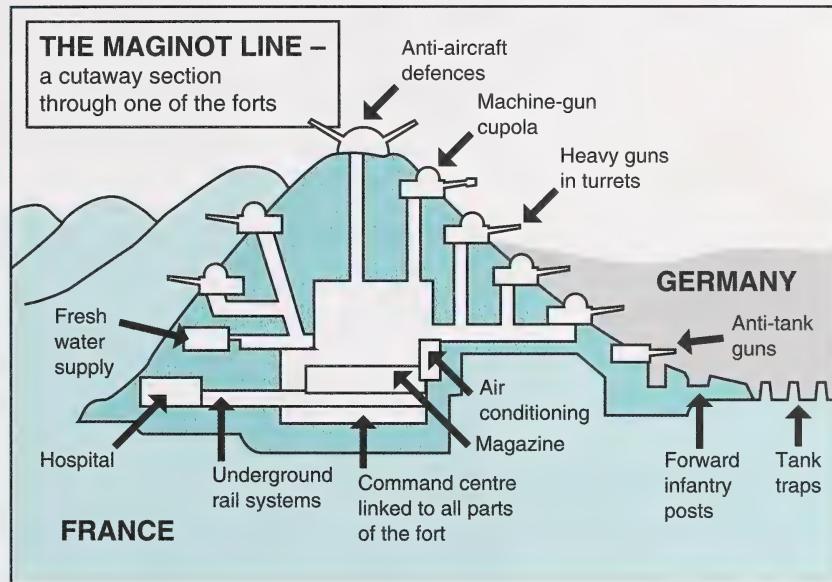
The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

... This Treaty shall ... remain open as long as may be necessary for adherence by all the other Powers of the world.

France had brought together nations in an attempt to outlaw war. Although many have suggested that the Kellogg-Briand Pact was equivalent to announcing the virtues of motherhood, it was at least the first international agreement accepted by sovereign nations which asserted that war was not a legitimate method for settling disputes between nations.

As you will see, some nations and their leaders (Germany after 1933, Japan in 1931 and 1937) saw such agreements as attempts to prevent them from achieving their aspirations.

However, for France, if all these diplomatic agreements and alliances failed, it could keep a strong army and build fortifications on its eastern border with Germany. In 1927, the latter approach to national security was initiated when France began construction of the Maginot Line, which was a line of defence and fortification built along the border between France and Germany. For France, as for all other nations, in the final analysis, national security rested with the nation-state, not with international protocols about peace or with the League of Nations.



7. Why did America wish to avoid the impression it was signing a bilateral alliance with France?

8. Why did France eventually decide to build the Maginot Line?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 2.

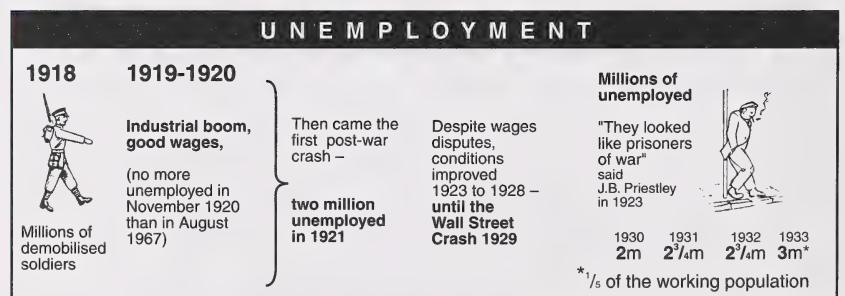
Activity 3: The British and the Avoidance of War

The British welcomed their soldiers home in 1919 with the promise that Britain would be a “land fit for heroes.” But when the praise and the parades ended, a sterner reality faced Britain, and this was to have a profound impact on the policies it followed after 1920.



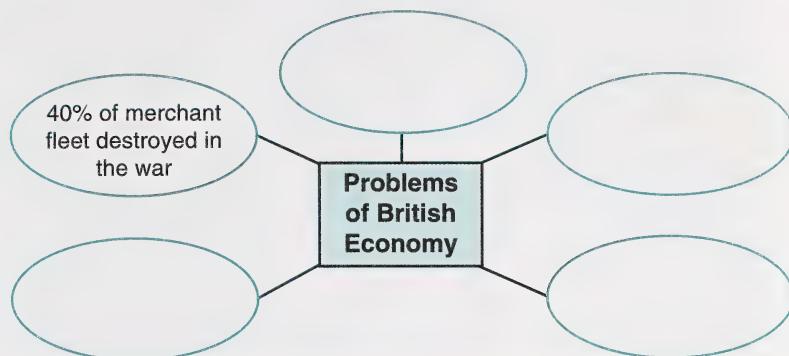
As a small island nation, Britain depended on trade for prosperity. But during the war and the immediate postwar period, British commerce had been dealt several blows. During the war, German submarines had destroyed about 40% of the British merchant fleet.

To add to this, other trading nations, notably the U.S.A. and Japan, had replaced Britain in various markets overseas during the course of the war. Furthermore, after the war, tariffs to protect domestic industries were established, and these eventually cut deeply into British exports. Moreover, the old equipment in factories and mines added to the decline of the British economy, and unemployment increased.



¹ Heinemann Publishers (Oxford) Ltd. for the graphic from *A Map History of the Modern World 1980 to the Present Day* by Brian Catchpole. Reprinted by permission of Heinemann Publishers Ltd.

1. Complete the concept map to indicate the problems the British economy faced after 1920.



Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 3.

British concern for national security had been substantially settled before the Treaty of Versailles when the German fleet had surrendered. Britain was interested in maintaining its empire around the world and wanted to avoid entanglements in Europe. Furthermore, it had serious concerns with its economy.

By 1921, the British had urged a more lenient attitude towards Germany. But the French were adamant in demanding reparations. A serious rift developed between the two, and they ceased to cooperate in European policy. France wanted reparations, in part to pay war debts to Britain and the U.S.A. At the same time, it was difficult for Britain to be generous. Approximately one third of the money it had loaned to its allies had gone to Tsarist Russia and was completely lost. Soviet Russia was in economic ruin, and even if it could have repaid, it wouldn't have done so. Approximately one half of Britain's war debt was with the U.S.A., and the Americans insisted on repayment. Under these circumstances, successive British governments struggled.

This rift was exacerbated when the French and Belgians occupied the Ruhr over Germany's nonpayment of reparations. The British opposed such action. Further differences were revealed at Locarno. Although the British were prepared to guarantee the western frontiers established at Versailles, they were unwilling to do so for the eastern frontiers as France had urged.

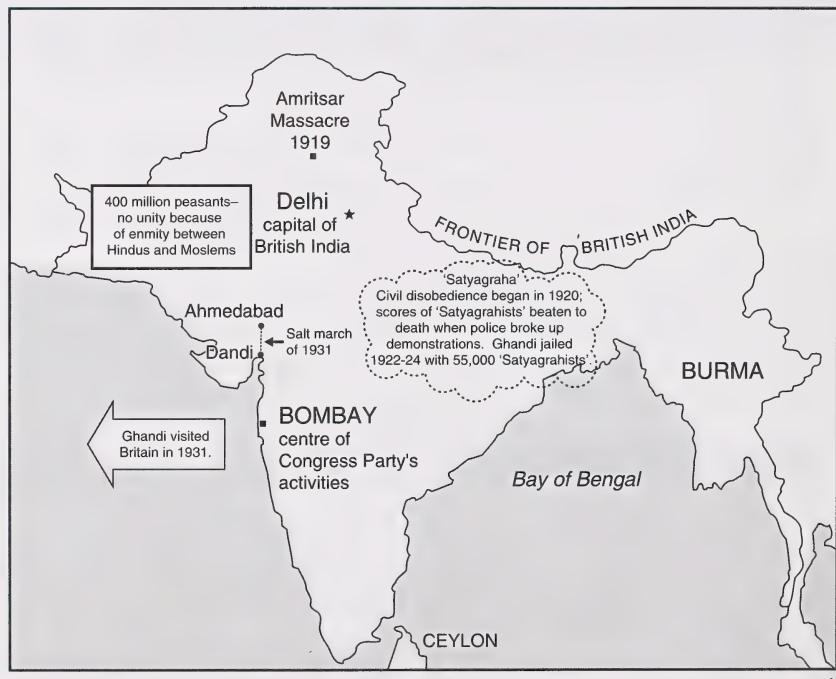
Mounting economic difficulties could, unless action was taken, threaten British national security and the security of the Empire if naval superiority was jeopardized. Britain wanted to avoid a costly naval armaments race and accepted an international meeting to discuss naval disarmament. The conference convened in Washington (1921–22) and resulted in a ten-year agreement on heavy naval ships. In accordance with specific ratios (the U.S.A., 5; Britain, 5; Japan, 3; France, 1.67; and Italy, 1.67) the navies of the major powers were established.

The intention was to maintain a constant ratio among the fleets and avoid a costly race in shipbuilding. But the agreement effectively denied Britain naval superiority (it was now on a par with the U.S.A.) and it essentially gave Japan dominance in the Western Pacific. Britain was stretched too thinly, and parts of its Empire were beginning to unravel as well.

- What was the relationship between the British economy and its policy concerning national security?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 3.

Troubles in India, 1919–1939



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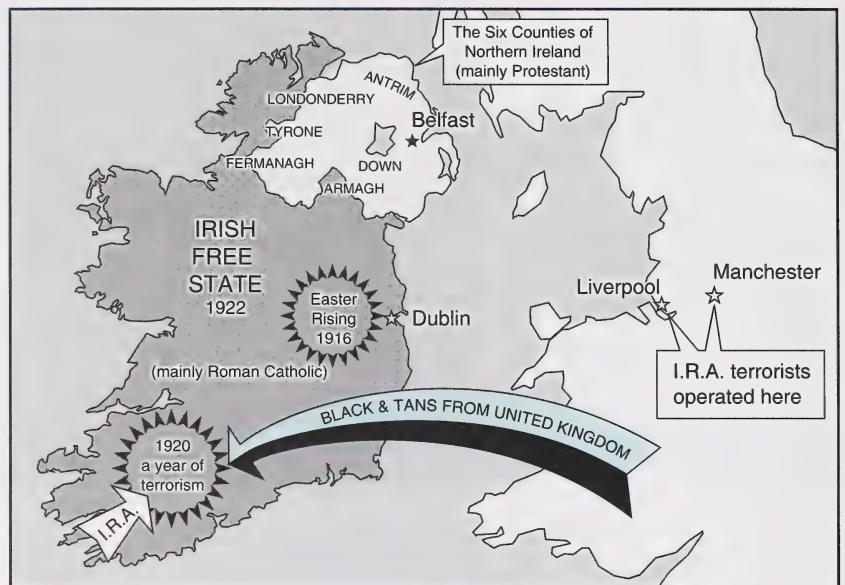
One part of the British Empire that greatly concerned the British was India. In 1917, the British had promised that India would be given “gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government.” In 1919, under the Government of India Act, Britain gave control of many local matters to the Indians. For the Congress Party, this was not enough because it still left taxation, foreign policy, and justice in the hands of the British. Many Indians clamoured for independence and did not want to wait.

The British also had problems closer to home in Ireland; these problems had broken out before the end of World War I. There was bloodshed and political maneuvers as the Irish sought to obtain home rule or outright independence from British control. Irish members of Parliament proclaimed the Irish Republic in 1919. It was not until 1921 that the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed which established the Irish Free State with dominion status. Protestant-dominated Northern Ireland violently objected to this move and a civil war broke out. Northern Ireland remained a part of Britain.

Sentiment for a reunified Irish Republic remained over the years. The Irish government continued to favour union with Northern Ireland, but only if achieved through peaceful means. The Irish Republican Army (IRA), outlawed in the Irish Republic, was using more extreme measures such as terrorist activities in an attempt to get the British government to yield to its demands.

In 1985 the Hillsborough Agreement gave the Republic of Ireland a voice in the governing of Northern Ireland. Then in December 1993, Britain and Ireland announced a declaration of principles aimed at leading to a political settlement of the Northern Ireland issue. The IRA announced a ceasefire in August 1994, saying it would rely on political means to achieve its objectives.

Ireland's Troubles, 1916–1922



3. What impact did concerns over a widely spread empire have on British attitudes towards Europe?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 3.

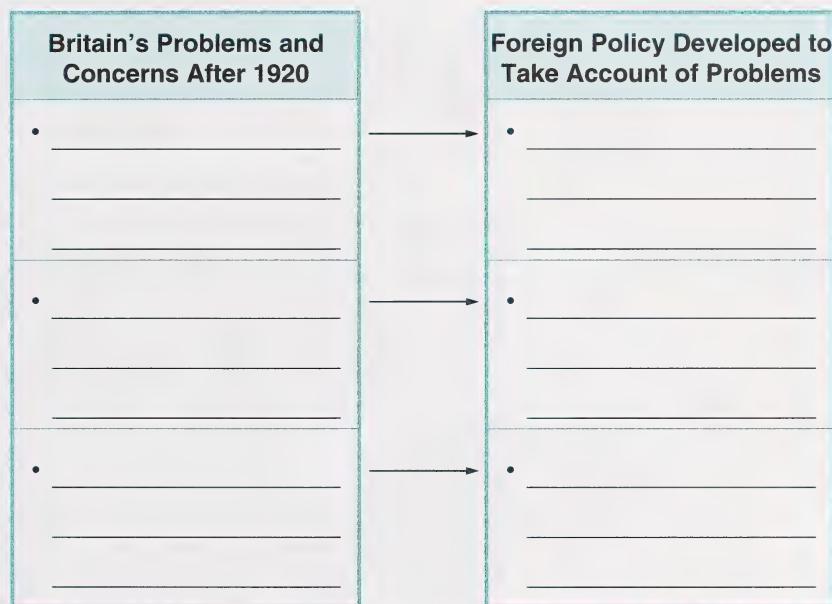
Britain had suffered terribly from the First World War. The appalling casualties and suffering made many in Britain regard another war as unthinkable. For many, no international problem could justify such carnage again. Every crisis brought with it the hope that it would pass without war, or at least without a war involving Britain. The price of victory in World War I seemed not much different from the price of defeat, and faith was placed in the League of Nations to achieve peace.

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The attitude in Britain towards global collective security is interesting. Opposition to rearmament during the 1920s and early 1930s was widespread. Yet the only way the League of Nations could achieve security for all nations was through leading member's powers being strong enough to act against aggression. Pacifism as a strong, popular movement gained momentum and did have an impact on government policy.

Furthermore, constant bickering with France in the 1920s led British sentiment to become more pro-German. It became acceptable to see Germany as the victim of the Treaty of Versailles. Such a view was eventually to lead to a policy of appeasement. At least this is one interpretation that could be applied.

4. Complete the chart that follows:



Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 3.

Activity 4: Italian Desire to be “Great, Respected, and Feared”

The Paris Peace Conference (1919) provided bitter discontent for the Italians. Orlando, the Italian prime minister, had gone to France expecting substantial territorial gains as compensation for the 680 000 killed in World War I and the promises made at the Treaty of London (1915) which had brought Italy into the war on the side of the Allies. Instead, Orlando returned to Italy with most of his demands unfulfilled.

The Treaty of London (1915), which persuaded Italy to declare war on Austria-Hungary, promised territory which included the South Tyrol and Trentino, Trieste, part of the Dalmatia coastline, enlarged Colonies in Africa, and a sphere of interest in Turkey.

Review the map of Italy's war gains in Section 1, Activity 3.

The Americans refused to be bound by the Treaty of London, and Italy was disappointed particularly over its claims to Fiume, Dalmatia, and African colonies. Although some gains were made, including the disintegration of Austria-Hungary, what was not achieved loomed larger than what was; and many Italians came to believe that the war had been fought in vain and that their victory had been mutilated. Like Germany, they had grievances.

Orlando came back to a troubled nation. The war had placed a substantial strain on government finances, and the public debt had grown seven times. Rapid demobilization had created high unemployment, and the country faced a high rate of inflation. As a result the immediate postwar years were characterized by social unrest and violence.

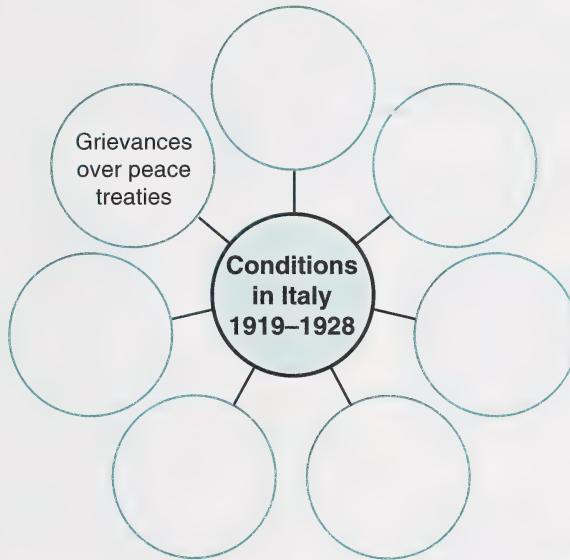
In the countryside, peasants seized land from their landlords; in some towns, workers were organizing Soviets (communist communities). The impact of the Russian Revolution was being felt, and for the middle and upper classes the fear of a Bolshevik rebellion loomed large. With high prices for basic commodities, strikes and riots were almost commonplace; and when in August 1920, workers in heavy industry were locked out, they retaliated by occupying the factories.

Mussolini

These first tentative steps towards a socialist revolution had brought a reaction from the extreme right in March 1919. Benito Mussolini and other ex-soldiers and disgruntled nationalists had formed the first fascist groups in Milan. They were eventually to win power by their actions in the streets (attacking socialists and communists), breaking up strikes and factory sit-ins, and playing on the fears of the middle and upper classes who dreaded a communist revolution. Between 1920 and 1922, it is estimated that the fascists killed approximately 3000 political opponents. Their behaviour won them the support of the propertied classes and, after the March on Rome in October 1922, Mussolini was invited by King Victor Emmanuel III to form a government. He was now in a position to begin to implement his domestic reforms and to follow a foreign policy based upon the desire to make Italy "great, respected, and feared."

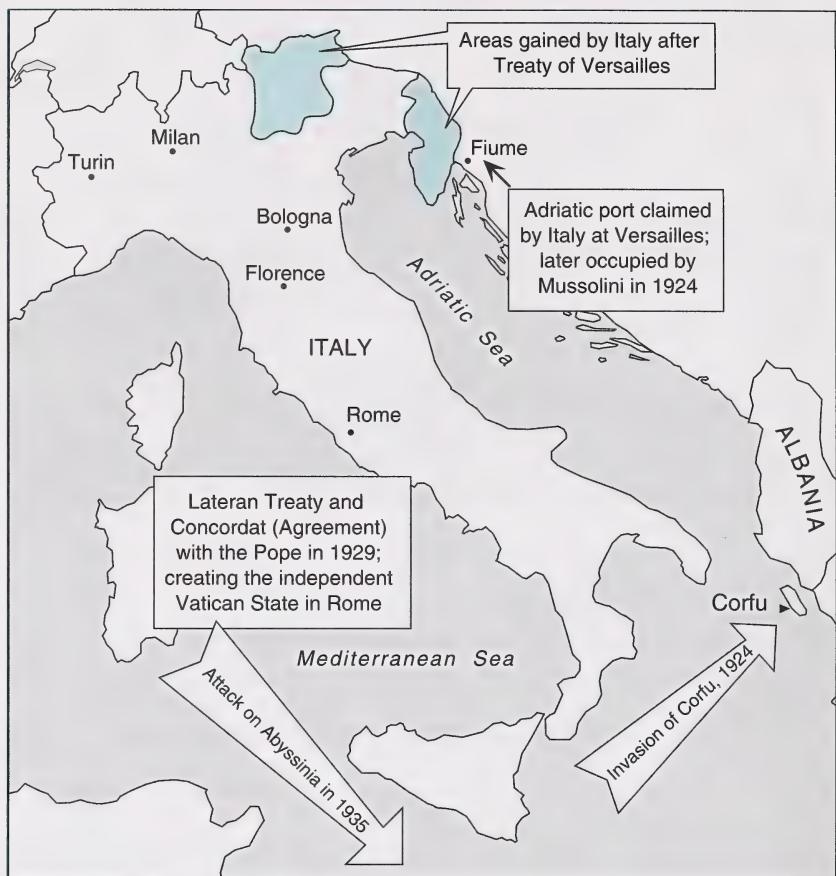


1. Complete the following concept map:



Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 4.

Mussolini's Foreign Policy, 1922–1933



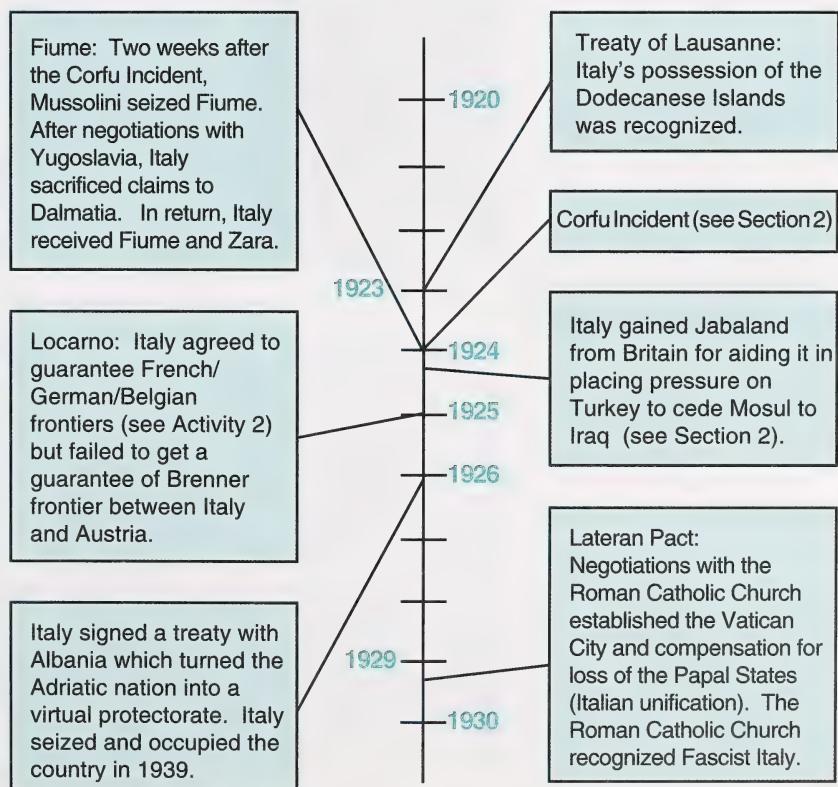
It is “better to live one day as a lion than a thousand years as a lamb,” Mussolini told his fascist Blackshirts in 1935. By then, an aggressive militarism had taken over Italian foreign policy. He knew that ultimately his regime would be judged on the boasts he had made on the achievement of power in 1922 – to make Italy a great power. For Mussolini, to be a great power meant an overseas empire. This was imperialism.

Throughout the 1920s, the fascists had promoted the idea that Italy had not received its full share of the spoils of war. This led to strained relations with Yugoslavia over frontier questions and with France and England who didn't want to share colonial acquisitions. But Mussolini considered himself destined to build an empire, to dominate the Mediterranean, and make the Adriatic into an Italian Lake. These goals implied the construction of a stronger nation and clashes with the interests of Yugoslavia, Greece, France, and Britain, all of which had Mediterranean and Adriatic policies of their own.

2. Why did Mussolini's policies for the Adriatic and the Mediterranean cause tensions?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 4.

Mussolini's Achievement in Foreign Policy, 1922–1930



3. In examining Mussolini's record to 1930, decide whether or not he made Italy "great, strong, and feared." Give reasons for your answer.

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 4.



Imperialism: an ideology that leads to the building of empires

After 1930, Mussolini's foreign policy declared that the struggle for Italian greatness would move to the world arena. He spoke of fascism for export.

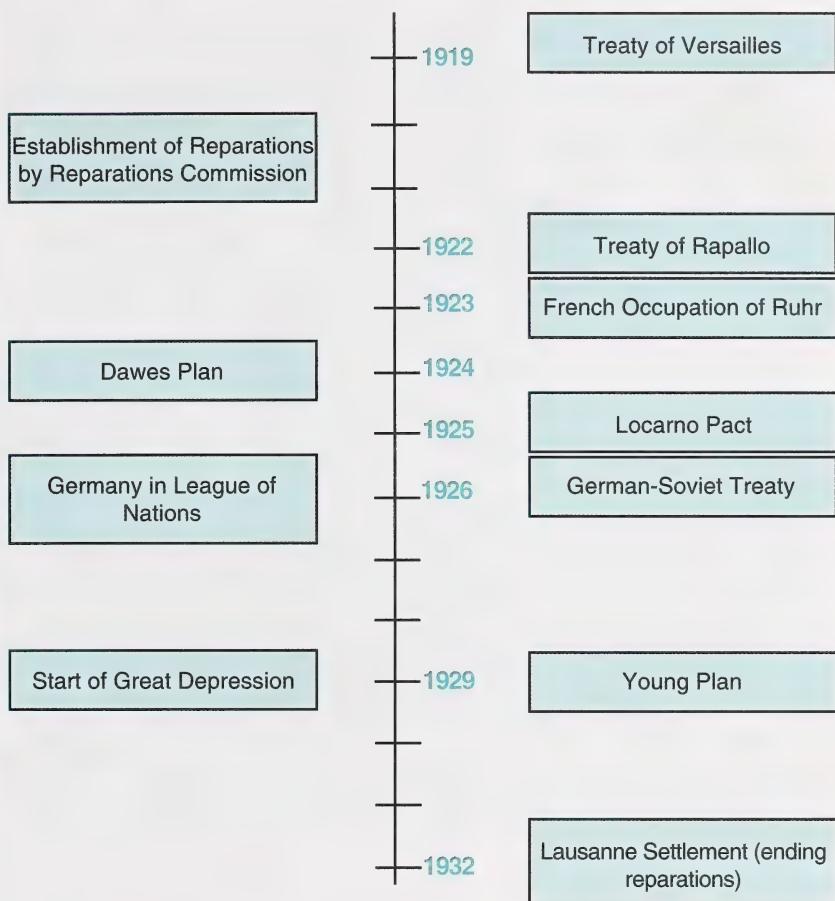
For a brief time, he was the champion of Austrian independence in the face of a threat from Nazi Germany in 1934, and he signed the Stresa agreement with Britain and France. It was at this time that he involved his country in an adventure in **imperialism** in Abyssinia and in so doing hammered another nail into the coffin of the League of Nations.

Activity 5: Weimar Germany and the Problems of Defeat

Note: When Germany became a republic, the new government met in the town of Weimar. Thus, 1920s Germany was often referred to as the Weimar Republic.

The Weimar Republic emerged from the defeated regime of the Kaiser and came into being during the year of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. In the minds of most Germans, its existence was a constant reminder of the humiliation of 1919, and gaining the allegiance of nationalist Germans was a constant problem throughout its existence. Even though faced with the problem of reparations, hyper-inflation, and then the Great Depression, it was by no means ready to accept the position of disarmament and economic servitude imposed at Versailles. However, the revisions achieved by peaceful and diplomatic means appeared too meagre for the ardent nationalists and, by 1933, Hitler was the dominant force in Germany.

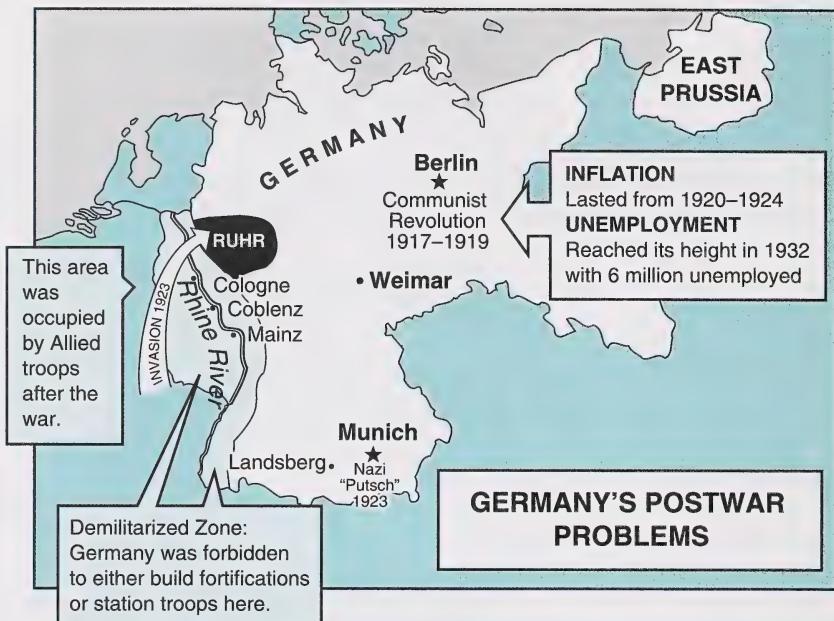
Some Important Events: Weimar Republic, 1919–1932



After the war, German statesmen had to rebuild their nation's foreign policy. Forced to sign the War Guilt Clause after its defeat, Germany was friendless in Europe. Its former allies, Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, had disintegrated. Territory ceded to Poland and France's insistence on reparations payment, along with strict adherence to the terms of the treaties did not promise a smooth path for future relations between Germany and its neighbours.

However, the world was astonished in April 1922 when Germany and Soviet Russia signed the Treaty of Rappalo agreeing to establish diplomatic relations, to relinquish separation claims arising from the war, and to cooperate with each other in the future. For both countries, it was the first voluntary agreement with any power since the end of the war. It meant that each was no longer alone. French diplomatic efforts had been aimed at isolating and encircling Germany. The Treaty of Rappalo was a setback to that policy.

In its quest for national security, France insisted on rigid adherence to the provisions of the Treaties of Versailles (1919). When Germany suspended payments of reparations in 1922, France and Belgium acted by occupying the Ruhr.



1. As shown on the map, why was it so easy for French and Belgian troops to enter the Ruhr valley?

Use the quotes to answer the questions that follow.

Essen was occupied this afternoon by two divisions of French troops. At twenty minutes to two, the main body of the French forces came down the hill to the railway station and chief post office ...

Despite the machine guns, the swords, and slung rifles of the horizon-blue cavalry, who came cantering down the street behind the armored cars, there were angry murmurs from the crowd – many took no trouble to hide the hatred in their hearts. No one thought of his neighbour. Everyone's

face was set in the effort to preserve his control, or had already lost it in some cry of grief or pain.

The French troops behaved with absolute correctness – there was no hectoring and no jesting. As on a ceremonial parade, these men passed silently through the equally silent lanes of human beings ... The silence was remarkable. Only the clattering of horses' hooves over the cobbles broke it ...

– *The Times*, 12 January 1923

The scene is any pit in the Ruhr district. The miners peacefully work the coal and pile it at the pit mouth. One day French troops appear at the mine. The German miners and laborers indignantly leave the spot. The French remain there, and with great difficulty and the assistance of foreign laborers whom they have brought with them,

they clear the coal from the pit-head. This done, they move off again. Immediately the German workers and officials reappear and carry on the work in the mine, until once more coal is piled up, and the French come back again. The whole procedure is known as *national passive resistance*.

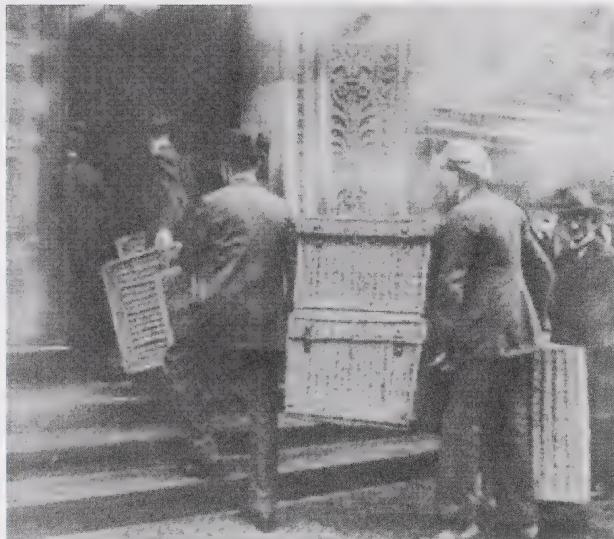
– A. Rosenberg, *A History of the German Republic*, 1936

2. What was the German reaction to the French occupation of Essen in the Ruhr?

3. a. What is passive resistance?

b. Could Germany use any other form of resistance? Explain.

Inflation



In 1923, laundry baskets were used to take bank-notes to the bank to exchange for a few coins.

From 1920 to 1924 there was high inflation in Germany caused by the government borrowing and printing more money to pay for its reparation debts. The following chart shows how severe the inflation problem became.

The Price of One Egg (in Marks)		
	1914	.09
July	1921	1.6
July	1922	7
July	1923	5000
September	1923	4 000 000
November	1923	320 000 000 000

4. What had happened to German money in terms of what it would buy?

The crisis of hyper-inflation and the occupation of the Ruhr were resolved by the Dawes Plan and the Locarno Pact. The Dawes Plan alienated economic problems and the Locarno Pact led to Germany's entry into the League of Nations by diminishing tensions between Germany and France. However, there was no explicit guarantee of the eastern frontiers, and neither did the statesmen of the Weimar Republic renounce German Union with Austria (*Anschluss*).

However, all the work carried out in the mid-1920s was to collapse when the Great Depression devastated the German economy. The number of unemployed increased from 650 000 in 1928 to 5 500 000 in 1932. As the depression deepened, people turned to political extremes, and this ultimately led to Hitler's achievement of power. When he seized the reins of government, Germany's foreign policy took a dramatic turn, and so did the fate of Europe.

5. How were the economic problems of Germany solved after the early 1920s?

6. What relationship with America made the German economy so susceptible to collapse in 1929 and 1930?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 5.

Activity 6: The USSR and the Search for Recognition and National Security

The Soviet Union was formed out of the Russian Empire on December 30, 1922. The term Soviet Russia is used to describe the country from after the 1917 Revolution until December 30, 1922.

The losses in World War I, followed by the devastation of the Russian Civil War, had exacted a heavy price in lives and basically destroyed the economy of **Soviet Russia**. Furthermore, by 1924, Moscow's diplomatic gains fell considerably short of equality of treatment in the international community. The Soviet Union was still an outcast at this time. It was excluded from the League of Nations. Actually, Soviet Russia's attitude towards the League of Nations hardly encouraged membership. It saw the League as nothing more than an alliance of capitalist states. Unrecognized by most countries and unable to resolve its differences with Britain and France, Soviet Russia's only "friend" in Europe was that other outcast – Germany.

The Russian Civil War

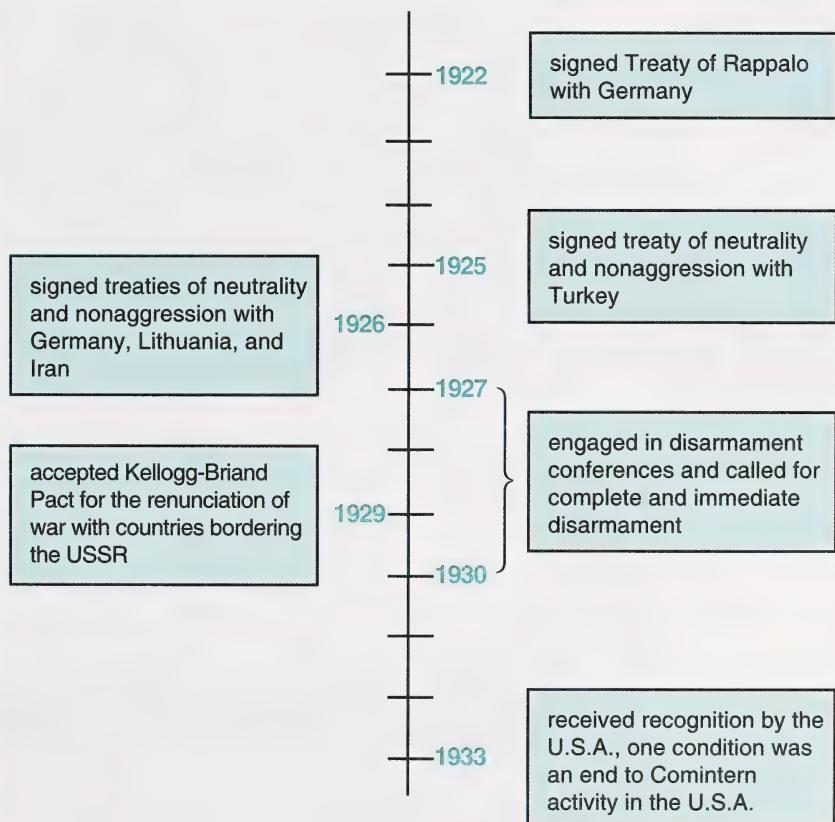


With Lenin's death in 1924, a power struggle developed in the USSR. One aspect of the debate centred on the preservation and protection of the revolution. Leon Trotsky argued that the Russian Communist Party should encourage and provide aid to communists in other countries to overthrow their governments. Stalin asserted that it was necessary to develop socialism in Russia first. He wanted to build the armed forces of the USSR to ensure they could withstand the expected attack from capitalist nations. He argued that Trotsky's view would only encourage attack at a time when the USSR was weak. This view was to influence Soviet policy when Stalin became the undisputed leader of the USSR.

1. Why was the USSR relatively weak in 1924?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 6.

The USSR's Search for Security and Recognition, 1922–1933



Soviet foreign policy was carried out on two fronts:

- the normal channels through its Foreign Office
- a not-so-normal approach, the Comintern

Comintern encouraged, for example, communist infiltration of unions and revolution wherever possible.

However, the military weakness of the USSR resulted in an atmosphere of mutual confidence between the USSR and its neighbours. After 1926, the network of Soviet nonaggression treaties was extended to Afghanistan, Estonia, Latvia, Finland, France, and Italy.

The USSR was finally included as a member of the family of nations when it was recognized by the U.S.A. in 1933. In 1934, the USSR joined the League of Nations, stimulated by Hitler's achievement of power in 1932–33. By this act it had come to see some capitalist nations as a less serious threat than others, and some accommodation had to be made against those that announced a desire to see its destruction. Before this, it saw all capitalist powers as equal threats and expected an alliance of capitalist nations to be formed against it.

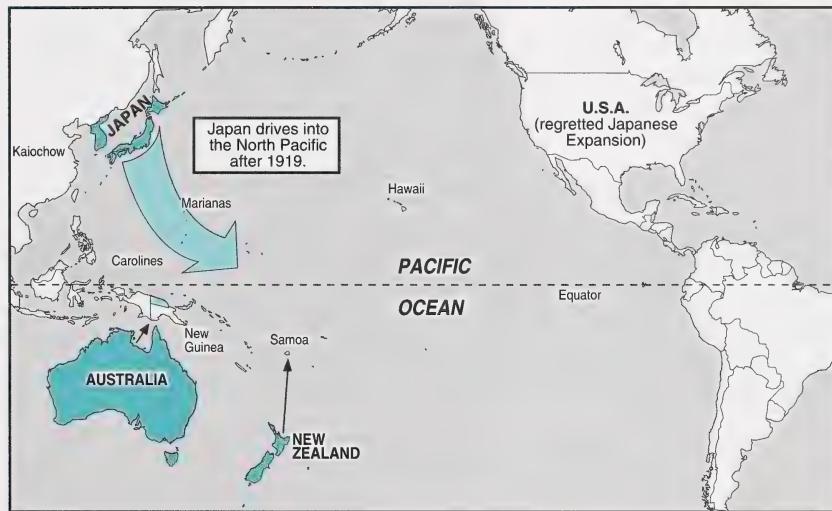
2. How did the USSR attempt to maintain its national security between 1922 and 1933?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 6.

Activity 7: Japanese Imperialism

In 1914, Japan joined its British ally in declaring war on Germany and then took over German spheres of interest on mainland China (the naval base at Jiaozhou and German concessions in Shandong). Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the Shandong concessions were given to Japan as well as Mandates to the islands taken from Germany in the North Pacific.

The Pacific Mandates



The Shandong Concessions



Japan had done well from the war. Its overseas trade had increased at the expense of the Allies (notably Britain), its merchant fleet and navy had been enlarged, and its industry had grown rapidly by manufacturing armaments for the Allies. This success was complemented by the Washington Naval Conference which gave Japan virtual naval dominance in the western Pacific. As industry expanded, the future looked bright for Japan, but like all nations it was to suffer the problems brought on by the Great Depression.

Economic security: concern for achieving guarantees about economic growth

Japan's answer to the miseries of unemployment brought on by the Depression was provided by the army. If one cannot trade for essential resources, then they should be seized by force. For the military, **economic security** was essential for increased military spending, and increased military spending was essential for imperialist expansion.

Review, from Section 2, Japan's reasons for expanding that led to its invasion of Manchuria in 1931.

1. What arguments would the Japanese military offer to convince foreigners that the invasion of Manchuria was necessary?

In theory, the League of Nations should have imposed economic penalties on Japan for its invasion of Manchuria. But such an agreement between the World's nations was impossible, particularly since the U.S.A. was not a member of the League. No action was taken after the Lytton Commission Report, and Japan went unpunished.

2. Why didn't the League act?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 7.

Activity 8: Review

Answer the following by selecting the **most** appropriate of the choices offered.

_____ 1. “Should the American Senate ratify the Treaty of Versailles and approve entry of the U.S.A. into the League of Nations?”

In 1919, this issue brought about a conflict between the diplomatic goal and attitude of

- A. maintaining isolation and preserving international responsibilities
- B. preserving a balance of power and enhancing national prestige
- C. achieving containment and respecting national sovereignty
- D. supporting appeasement and preserving peace

Use the statement in the box that follows to answer question 2.

I am proposing that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every nation should be left free to pursue its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafeard, the little along with the great and powerful.

– a twentieth-century statesman

_____ 2. The preceding statement argues in favour of

- A. collective security
- B. self-determination
- C. arms limitation
- D. open diplomacy

Use the opinion in the box that follows to answer question 3.

We may safely make the assumption that no state will be likely to challenge the power of the world community and that all will honour their commitment to take police action if aggression occurs.

_____ 3. According to the preceding opinion, aggression could **best** be prevented by

- A. disarmament
- B. detente
- C. collective security
- D. national defence

Use the sources that follow to answer questions 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

Source I



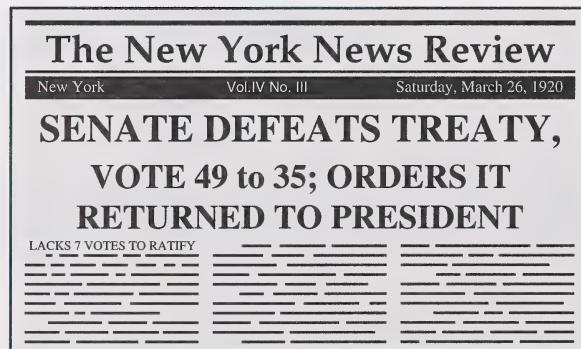
Source II



Source III



Source IV



_____ 4. To what important issue do the sources refer?

- Should the national goals of one nation be forced on another?
- Should peace treaties be designed to remove the causes of war?
- Should treaties of alliance be supported by democratic states?
- Should national goals be more important than international goals?

_____ 5. Which research question would be **most** useful to investigate the reasons behind the headline in Source IV?

- How did Americans perceive the strength of their armed forces?
- How did Americans perceive their nation's role in world affairs?
- Why did Wilson declare war on Germany during the First World War?
- Why did Wilson win the presidential election before the First World War?

_____ 6. In Source II, it is clearly shown that the cartoonist expected

- President Wilson to call an election over the issue of joining the League
- President Wilson to resign because of opposition to joining the League
- opposition to the League of Nations to be unsuccessful
- opposition to the League of Nations to be successful

_____ 7. According to Source III, the cartoonist believed that opposition to the draft of the League of Nations was based **mainly** on

- ignorance
- mass hysteria
- misinformation
- party politics

_____ 8. To opponents of the Treaty of Versailles, the Senate decision shown in Source IV was appropriate because it

- kept the U.S.A. outside the tangle of European politics
- freed the U.S.A. from the burden of war debt payments
- strengthened American ties with Great Britain
- allowed American troops to return home

_____ 9. A historian arguing that the Second World War was caused by a desire for retribution for past indignities would stress the provisions of the

- A. Fourteen Points
- B. Treaty of Versailles
- C. Kellogg-Briand Pact
- D. Covenant of the League of Nations

Use the opinion in the box that follows to answer question 10.

The idea of a world-state, including all of mankind, is disgusting. All different peoples (or nations), like individual men, have their own particular characteristics. From the great variety of these characteristics, the richness of the human race is seen.

– Heinrich Von Freitsche

_____ 10. The preceding view would likely be in greatest conflict with the values inherent in the

- A. establishment of the League of Nations
- B. formation of the state of Israel
- C. signing of the Triple Entente
- D. unification of Germany

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Activity 8.

Follow-up Activities

If you had difficulties understanding the concepts in the activities, it is recommended that you do the Extra Help. If you have a clear understanding of the concepts, it is recommended that you do the Enrichment.

Extra Help

Identify the terms in the left-hand column by placing the correct letter before each clue statement in the right-hand column.

Words	Clues
a. expansionist	_____ 1. American policy during the 1920s and 1930s
b. Ruhr	_____ 2. American effort to solve Germany's economic problems in the early 1920s
c. outcast	_____ 3. money owed by the European Allies to the U.S.A.
d. pacifism	_____ 4. France's deep and abiding concern after 1919
e. Kellogg	_____ 5. alliance formed in 1921 between Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia
f. war debts	_____ 6. area occupied by French and Belgian troops in 1923
g. sanctions	_____ 7. meeting place in Switzerland where France's eastern border was guaranteed by Britain and Italy
h. Dawes Plan	_____ 8. Americans involved in attempt to "renounce war as an instrument of national policy ..."
i. Maginot Line	_____ 9. French defence along its eastern border
j. national security	_____ 10. the meeting at Washington (1921–22) that set out ratios for some major powers
k. Manchuria	_____ 11. popular movement which encouraged disarmament
l. passive resistance	_____ 12. common concern of Italy and Germany after the Paris Peace Conference
m. isolationism	

(There are more terms and clues on the next page.)

Words	Clues
n. <i>Anschluss</i>	_____ 13. a word which could be used to describe Italian foreign policy particularly after 1930
o. Little Entente	_____ 14. German feeling after defeat in World War I
p. naval agreements	_____ 15. treatment of Germany after its defeat
q. grievances	_____ 16. location of signing of treaty between Russia and Germany in 1922
r. Locarno	_____ 17. German reaction to France's invasion of the Ruhr
s. Rappallo	_____ 18. idea of union between Germany and Austria
t. humiliation	_____ 19. invasion by Japan of this area did much to undermine the credibility of the League of Nations _____ 20. things not applied against Japan following its invasion of Manchuria

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Extra Help.

Enrichment

Study the following extracts, and then answer the questions that come after them.

Extract 1

At ten o'clock last night, Japanese railway guards picked a quarrel by blowing up a section of the South Manchurian railway near Mukden, and subsequently accused the Chinese military of having done this. The Japanese troops immediately staged a surprise attack upon Pietyang, bombarding the place at random. At 5:30 a.m. Japanese soldiers began entering the city of Shenyang and immediately occupied all Government buildings.

– Chinese official report

Extract 2

Especial: exceptional, notable

For some years past, unpleasant incidents have taken place in the regions of Manchuria and Mongolia, in which Japan is interested in an **especial** degree ... Amidst the atmosphere of anxiety a detachment of Chinese troops destroyed the tracks of the SMR in the vicinity of Mukden, and attacked our railway guards at midnight on 18 September. In order to forestall an imminent disaster, the Japanese army had to act swiftly ... It may be superfluous to repeat that the Japanese Government harbours no territorial designs on Manchuria.

– Japanese official report

Extract 3

The Japanese had a carefully prepared plan to meet the case of possible hostilities between themselves and the Chinese. On the night of September 18 this plan was put into operation with swiftness and precision. The Chinese had no plan of attacking Japanese troops, or of endangering the lives and property of Japanese nationals. An explosion undoubtedly occurred on or near the railroad between 10:00 and 10:30 p.m. on September 18, but the damage, if any, to the railroad did not in fact prevent the punctual arrival of the south-bound train from Changchun, and was not in itself sufficient to justify military action.

– Commission Report

1. In what year did the incident described in these three extracts take place?

- a. Why was Japan interested “in an especial degree” in the two provinces mentioned in the second extract?

- b. What later actions of the Japanese falsified the assertion they made at the end of the second extract?

3. a. Give the name of the Chairman of the Commission that produced the Report from which the third extract is taken. On behalf of which international body was this Commission enquiring?

b. Which of the two parties to the dispute does this third extract appear to blame? Use quotations from the extract to support your opinion.

4. How do you explain the fact that no vigorous international action was taken as a result of the publication of the report from which the third extract is taken?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 3: Enrichment.

Conclusion

The Paris Peace Treaties established a League of Nations in part to “promote international co-operation and to achieve peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war” But the absence of American, German, and Soviet Russian participation in the League indicated weakness at the outset.

It should be noted here that the League of Nations was not an independent organization; it tended to reflect the attitudes of (and was obviously directed by) the most influential nations that comprised its leadership. Those two nations were Britain and France.

Even though the ideals of the League asserted international cooperation to maintain peace, nations pursued their own courses in achieving national security. These policies developed from the belief that the League could not protect its Covenant. As well, nations saw the League from different perspectives. France saw the League as the means for maintaining the status quo established at Versailles. Decision makers in the U.S. Senate saw no value in it as an organization, while the USSR viewed the League as a capitalist alliance intent on overturning the proletarian revolution.

Therefore, there was never global commitment to the League of Some Nations, and the policies of the world’s powerful nations sometimes enhanced, but more often diminished, the hopes of those who believed the League could achieve international cooperation and maintain peace and security.

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 had shown that aggression would go unanswered. Italy’s invasion of Abyssinia had also displayed the weakness of the League of Nations. As well, it amplified the desire of Britain and France (both permanent members of the League’s Council) to avoid the use of force, or even effective sanctions, to counter such aggression.

To discover how the policies and plans of the powers unravelled after 1933, it is necessary to examine the foreign policy of Nazi Germany between 1933 and 1936. You will see Hitler’s goals and the response to them in Section 4.

Assignment
Booklet

ASSIGNMENT

Turn to your Assignment Booklet and do the assignment for this section.

Section

4

The Road to World War II



What international conflicts and civil wars are currently in the news? Have you thought about why these disputes have broken out? Some of our current conflicts may be in response to events that happened in the past. As you examine the time period leading up to World War II, it is important to consider the influence of decisions and agreements made at the conclusion of World War I.

Expansionism: extension of the territory over which a nation has control

Three nations (Japan, Italy, and Germany) began to implement an **expansionist** foreign policy in the 1930s. Japan's reasons for following this policy were to seize resources, to ensure economic security, to fuel military expansions, and to further imperialist ambitions in Asia. Italy wanted to redress its grievances from Paris in 1919 so that Mussolini's boast to make Italy "great, respected, and feared" would come true. Germany's reasons were to erase the hated Treaty of Versailles, and to fulfill Hitler's ambition of achieving living space and making his country the dominant power in Europe.

In this section you will examine Hitler's attempts to overthrow Versailles and Locarno and the reactions to his efforts by those most affected by them. As well you will investigate the interaction of nations concerning the foreign policies of Japan and Italy.

Upon completion of this section, you should be able to

- identify the reasons why Germany wanted revisions to the Paris Peace Treaties
- identify the responses of various powers to the demand for revisions to the Paris Peace Treaties
- list the responses of various powers to expansionism

Activity 1: The Roots of Expansionism and Rearmament

Attempts to Revise the Paris Treaties

Note: Although the acronym for the National Socialist German Worker's Party is NAZI, Nazi is more often used.

Use the excerpts from the Twenty-five Point Program of the National Socialist German Workers' Party, 1920, to complete the exercise that follows.

Program of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NAZI Party)

1. The union of all Germans on the basis of the right of self-determination.
2. Equality of rights for the German people in its dealings with other nations, and abolition of the Peace Treaties of Versailles and Saint-Germain.
3. Colonies for the nourishment of our people and for settling our surplus population.
4. None but those of German blood may be citizens.
10. It must be the first duty of each citizen of the State to work for the common good.
16. The middle class must be protected; large department stores must be divided into a number of independent small stores.
19. The Roman Law shall be replaced by a German legal system.
20. Education must serve the German cause, and higher education must be made available to the children of poor parents.
22. Formation of a national army.
23. It must be forbidden to publish papers which do not conduce to the national welfare.

– Adolf Hitler: *Mein Kampf*

1. What is meant by self-determination?

2. What three revisions to the Paris Peace Treaties do points 1 and 2 demand so that self-determination would be achieved for German people?

3. What pressing problem is emphasized in point 3?

4. Which statements (points) oppose the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles? Explain.

Hitler's Dream of Expansion

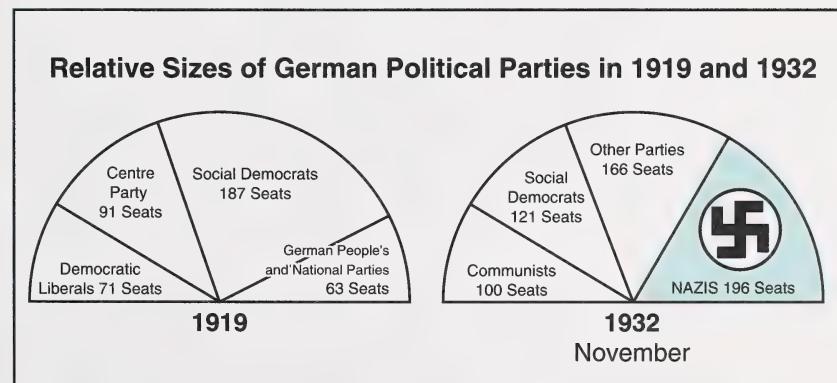
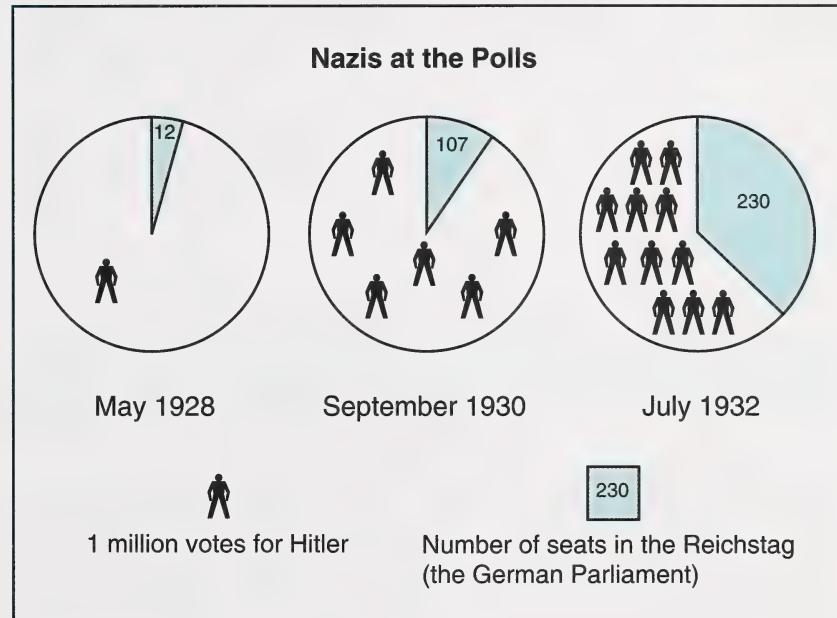


Note: The quotes on the map come from *Mein Kampf* written by Hitler before he came to power

5. How did Hitler envisage a solution to Germany's land shortage problem?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 1.

Like many fringe parties in the 1920s, the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazis) adopted a semi-military organization. They saluted, paraded, wore uniforms, and attacked their enemies, particularly communists. They sought an end to the Weimar Republic because they saw it as the betrayer of Germany as its representatives had signed the hated Treaty of Versailles. They attacked those who had signed the Treaty of Versailles and asserted that Germany had not been defeated in the war but was rather a victim of traitors at home, particularly Jews and Communists.



In a speech in Munich in 1923, Adolf Hitler argued as follows:

With the armistice (of November 1918) began the humiliation of Germany. If the (Weimar) Republic on the day of its foundation had appealed to the country: ‘Germans, stand together! Up and resist the foe! The Fatherland, the Republic expects of you that you fight to your last breath,’ then millions who are now the enemies of the Republic would be fanatical Republicans. Today they are the foes of the Republic not because it is a Republic but because this Republic was founded at the moment when Germany was humiliated, because it so discredited the new flag that men’s eyes must turn regretfully towards the old flag. It was no Treaty of Peace which was signed, but a betrayal of Peace ...

So long as this Treaty stands there can be no resurrection of the German people: no social reform of any kind is possible! The Treaty was made in order to bring 20 million Germans to their deaths and to ruin the German nation. But those who made the Treaty cannot set it aside. At its foundation our Movement formulated three demands:

1. Setting aside of the Peace Treaty
2. Unification of all Germans
3. Land and soil (*Grund und Boden*) to feed our nation

Our Movement could formulate these demands, since it was not our Movement which caused the War, it has not made the Republic, [and] it did not sign the Peace Treaty.

There is thus one thing which is the first task of this Movement: it desires to make the German once more National, that his Fatherland shall stand for him above everything else. It desires to teach our people to understand afresh the truth of the old saying: He who will not be a hammer must be an anvil: An anvil are we today, and that anvil will be beaten until out of the anvil we fashion once more a hammer, a German sword!

6. According to Hitler, why was the Weimar Republic discredited?

7. According to Hitler, what must be done to make Germany great and strong?

- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 1.

In 1923, when the French were occupying the Ruhr and extreme inflation was destroying the economy, Hitler thought the time was right for rebellion. In league with ultranationalists, Hitler attempted to overthrow the Bavarian Government (in southern Germany) and establish himself in power. The coup d'état failed, and Hitler was captured, tried, and sentenced to imprisonment, during which time he wrote *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle). It set out the Nazi ideology. Few outside the Nazi movement took it seriously until Hitler achieved power in 1933.

Restoring Germany to full equality with other powers in matters of armaments and prestige demanded daring and clever calculation. In 1933, Hitler called for revisions to the Treaty of Versailles. As expected, such a demand was rejected. In response, Hitler withdrew Germany from the League of Nations and all disarmament talks. This was the first move in realizing the broad foreign policy goals that were set out in *Mein Kampf* and other documents of the early 1920s. The four general goals were as follows:

- Germany must acquire *Lebensraum* (living space). This would be achieved by expansion eastward at the expense of Russia.
- Germany must act in concert with Fascist Italy and imperialist Britain.
- Germany must avoid a two-front war. There will be no repeat of 1914–1918.
- The core of the future German state must include controlling Austria, Bohemia, Moravia (in Czechoslovakia), and parts of Poland.

Of course, voicing these aims in public would only have led to attempts to strengthen alliances against Germany. Therefore, it was necessary to act with caution and deception and, whenever the opportunity arose, to strike lightning diplomatic blows.

8. a. What would be the reaction of the USSR to such ideas?

b. What of France?

9. What provisions of the Treaty of Versailles would have to be broken if territory were to be seized by force?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 1.

To achieve his purpose, in 1934, Hitler offered the Poles a pact which guaranteed the existing Polish-German frontiers for ten years. This dispelled Polish fears that a rearmed Germany would seize the Polish Corridor. The Poles agreed to sign.

Of course, Hitler broke the agreement within six years when he invaded Poland on September 1, 1939.

In 1934, however, Germany was still operating under the provisions of Versailles which had set severe limits on the size of the military. While Germany was still weak and lacked a strong ally, Hitler would not risk a war. When Nazis in Austria assassinated the Austrian Chancellor and attempted to seize control of the government, Hitler supported them until it was clear that their coup d'état had failed even though he had initially encouraged the effort.

In March 1935, Hitler announced rearmament in violation of the Treaty of Versailles. The three powers (Italy, France, and Britain) in conference in Stresa condemned such unilateral revision of the Treaty of Versailles and at the same time declared that the independence of Austria should be maintained and preserved.

In response, Hitler insisted that he had no intention of seizing Austria, and to appease the British he offered them the assurance that a rearmed Germany would not threaten British naval superiority. Under the agreement (1935) the Germans promised not to build more than 35% of the British tonnage, although this did not apply to submarines.

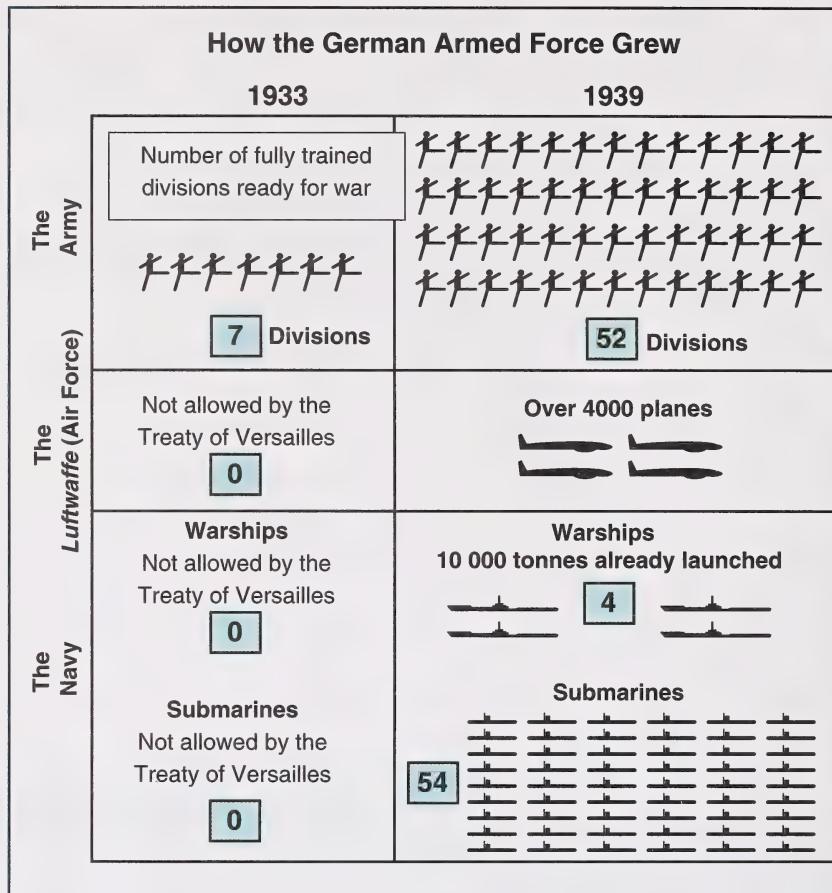
10. Why did agreement on the size of respective navies satisfy the British?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 1.

However, the British-German Naval Agreement (1935) fed the French opinion that Britain was following a policy of appeasement. This increased anti-British sentiment in France, and Hitler was ready to take advantage of such a rift.

With the Saar Basin plebiscite, conducted by the League of Nations, favouring the region's return to Germany, Hitler was increasingly confident that it was time to overturn some other provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. The Rhineland seemed the most promising place to begin.

With British and French attention riveted on the Ethiopian crisis, Hitler ordered his troops to reoccupy the Rhineland in defiance of Versailles and Locarno. Britain refused to oppose it and France would not act alone. Hitler had succeeded even if the risks had been great.



11. Why was Hitler's Rhineland venture successful?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 1.

Within three years, other provisions of the Paris Peace Treaties would be overturned. Europe would be at war again.

Activity 2: The Response to Expansionism and Rearmament

In the U.S.A., Wilson's hopes for a collective security system were rejected by the United States Senate. Instead, to avoid entanglements in Europe and to pursue its own course in national security, the U.S. isolated itself from world affairs. Under this policy, it refused to make commitments to other nations, even when aggressive foreign policies were pursued by Japan, Italy, and Germany.

To ensure that the policy of isolationism was strengthened, neutrality laws were passed between 1935 and 1937. These prevented Americans from trading with, or giving aid to, any nation which was at war. However, this policy began to change in the late 1930s, and after the fall of France (1940) the U.S.A. provided Britain with material (military equipment).

1. Why did America reaffirm its policy of isolationism with neutrality acts?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 2.

In France, the policy for keeping the peace and maintaining national security after 1933 was based on securing closer ties with Italy, strengthening its alliances in central Europe, and even negotiating an alliance with the USSR. All of these policies reflected the understanding that the conferences on the peaceful resolution of disputes and disarmament had failed to produce the desired results.

2. What was France's greatest concern?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 2.

In April 1935, representatives of France met with British and Italian counterparts in Stresa to declare their support for Austrian independence. One month later, France and the USSR signed an alliance of mutual assistance against aggression. It also included a Czechoslovakian-USSR alliance to come into effect once the French-Czechoslovakian alliance of 1921 was activated. These agreements followed French involvement in establishing the Balkan Pact (1934) which drew Yugoslavia, Romania, Greece, and Turkey together to maintain the status quo in the Balkans. France supplied military assistance to strengthen it.

3. How did France try to maintain national security? (See also Section 3, Activity 2.)

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 2.

The British policy for maintaining peace and achieving national security differed substantially from that of the French. It did all it could to reduce war debt and, therefore, the need for reparations. It wanted a Germany strong enough to curb the ambitions of France and to provide a barrier against the westward spread of communism. After 1933, it tried to ensure that Italy would not be driven into the waiting hands of Germany. This is one explanation for its ambivalent reaction to Italy's invasion of Abyssinia. It signed the Stresa agreement, but in June 1935, it had negotiated a naval agreement with Germany which effectively destroyed the position taken at Stresa. Self-interest prevailed.

4. Why was the British-German naval agreement more important to the British than the agreements made at Stresa?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 2.

When Hitler's troops reoccupied the Rhineland, Britain (and France) had a choice – to force Hitler's army out or to let it stay. For different reasons, the British and French chose the latter course. It was the beginning of the policy of appeasement.

In the USSR, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria (1931) and Hitler's achievement of power (1933) posed a double threat to Soviet Communism. What if they formed an alliance and attacked the USSR simultaneously? To offset such a possibility, it was essential to reach some accommodation with Britain and France. In 1934, the USSR joined the League of Nations and in 1935 signed an alliance of mutual assistance against aggression with France and Czechoslovakia. It wanted a much firmer anti-fascist pact which would include Britain, but it never did accomplish this.

5. Why did the USSR attempt to make accommodations with the western democracies?

6. How did the policies of the U.S.A., France, Britain, and the USSR differ in reaction to the expansionist foreign policies of other major powers?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Activity 2.

Follow-up Activities

If you had difficulties with the activities in this section, it is recommended that you do the Extra Help. If you have a clear understanding of the concepts, it is recommended that you do the Enrichment.

Extra Help

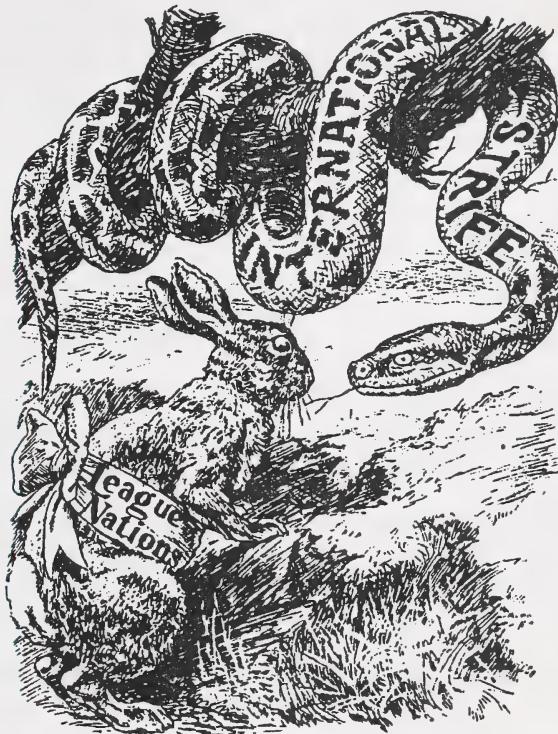
Complete the chart for the period of 1931 to 1936.

Policies Intended to Achieve Expansion or Revisions to Treaties	Reactions to Policies
Japan	U.S.A. _____ _____ _____
Italy	France _____ _____ _____
Germany	Britain _____ _____ _____
	the USSR _____ _____ _____

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Extra Help.

Enrichment

Examine the cartoon and then answer the questions that follows. You may need to make reference to **all** sections in this module.



1. What is meant by *international strife*?

2. Give examples of international strife that the League of Nations attempted to solve.

3. Why has the cartoonist chosen a rabbit to symbolize the League of Nations?

4. What will be the result of the confrontation between “The League of Nations” and “International Strife”?

Check your answers by turning to the Appendix, Section 4: Enrichment.

Conclusion

Expansionist policies and attempts to revise the treaties of Paris (1919) led to a variety of responses. But the lack of a cohesive reaction indicated a weakness in the “world body,” the primary goal of which was to maintain the peace. In the final analysis fascist powers proved more determined in pursuit of their goals than those which may have opposed them. It set the world on the road to World War II.

ASSIGNMENT

There is no assignment for this section.

MODULE SUMMARY

This module has attempted to explore the problems faced by many countries after the end of World War I. It has analysed the basis for the peace treaties signed in Paris and the problems and grievances that developed from them.

The League of Nations, its successes and failures, has been a central part of this work because its hopes for internationalism were finally undermined by nationalism and the pursuit of national self-interest. As well, the policies of various countries have been examined in an attempt to understand global interactions.

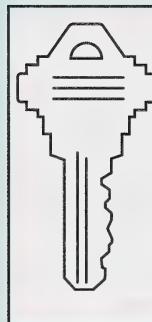
Finally, the module examined the road which led to World War II and the failure of the League of Nations to maintain the peace.

FINAL MODULE ASSIGNMENT

Turn to your Assignment Booklet and do the final assignment for this module.

Assignment
Booklet

Appendix



Glossary

Activities

Extra Help

Enrichment

Glossary

Alliances	<ul style="list-style-type: none">agreements between countries for defensive or aggressive purposes
Allegiance	<ul style="list-style-type: none">loyalty to the nation
Anschluss	<ul style="list-style-type: none">a union
Cede	<ul style="list-style-type: none">to give up
Economic security	<ul style="list-style-type: none">concern for achieving guarantees about economic growth
Expansionism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">extension of the territory over which a nation has control
Humanitarianism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">desire for social reform to enhance human welfare
Global collective security	<ul style="list-style-type: none">the idea that peace can be maintained if all nations act together to prevent aggression
Imperialism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">an ideology that leads to the building of empires
Internationalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">placing global concerns before national considerations
Lenin	<ul style="list-style-type: none">leader of the Bolsheviks and head of the world's first communist government
Mandates	<ul style="list-style-type: none">territories given to the Allied powers to administer for the League of Nations This was to terminate when the mandates were capable of independence.
National security	<ul style="list-style-type: none">safety of a nation Policies to ensure national security are policies intended to secure a nation's safety.
Nationalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">a feeling of pride for and devotion to one's country
Plebiscite	<ul style="list-style-type: none">a vote on a question by the people of an area
Regional security	<ul style="list-style-type: none">safety of a particular area, sometimes attempted through regional alliances
Reparations	<ul style="list-style-type: none">payment of war costs Germany was expected to pay the war debts of particular Allies.
Self-determination	<ul style="list-style-type: none">a nation's right to determine how the people of that nation will be governed

Suggested Answers

Section 1: Activity 2

1. a. Woodrow Wilson's main concern was a peace based upon the provisions in his *Fourteen Points for a Just Peace*.
 - b. Georges Clemenceau's concerns were French security and reparations from Germany.
 - c. David Lloyd George was interested in German reconstruction to prevent the spread of communism. However, he also had to take account of British public opinion which demanded revenge.
2. There was a lack of purpose among the Big Three at the Paris Peace Conference because their goals for the peace were different. They wanted different things and were not always ready to compromise.
3. The French wanted strong, tough terms included in the Treaty of Versailles because of the incredible destruction and loss of life caused by the German invasion of France. According to the French, someone should pay; it should be Germany.
4. Britain would have been most concerned if Germany had retained a strong navy because British security at the time depended upon its naval supremacy.
5. His election promises appealed to many British voters because he indicated that if elected, he would make Germany pay the cost of the war. Obviously, the burden on British tax payers would have been reduced if Germany was forced to pay reparations.
6. a. **Territorial Losses**
 - Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France.
 - Eupen and Malmedy were ceded to Belgium.
 - Northern Schleswig was turned over to Denmark.
 - Posen, West Prussia, and part of Upper Silesia (the "Polish Corridor") were given to the new Republic of Poland.
 - Danzig was made a "free city."
 - The Saar Basin was transferred to the League of Nations for fifteen years, with its coal mines to be operated by France; in 1935, a plebiscite was held to determine its future status.
 - German colonial possessions in Africa and the Pacific were given as mandates to England, Belgium, France, Japan, and the British dominions (Australia, New Zealand, South Africa).

b. Military Limitations

- German army was limited to 100 000.
- Conscription was abolished and a twelve-year term of service required for all volunteers.
- Rhineland was demilitarized. Allied army was to occupy the Rhineland for fifteen years.
- Submarines and military airplanes were banned.
- German navy was limited in size.

c. Economic Indemnities

Germany was required to pay indemnities for all damages. The total, set at a 1920 conference, was \$33 billion.

d. War Guilt

Germany was completely blamed for the war.

7. a. A demilitarized zone is an area or territory from which troops are excluded. In the case of the Rhineland, German troops were excluded.
- b. The Rhineland was demilitarized because France wanted the German military far away from the German-French border. For the French, it was a deep concern over national security.
8. Point 13 of Wilson's Fourteen Points angered the Germans because it created the Polish Corridor out of lands inhabited and claimed to be German sovereign territory. As well, it split Germany in two, isolating East Prussia. Furthermore, the Germans thought that Wilson's promise of self-determination would also apply to them. They were sadly mistaken and then embittered.

Section 1: Activity 3

1. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk took substantial territory from Russia. It created a number of independent states:

• Finland	• Lithuania
• Estonia	• Poland
• Latvia	• Ukraine

Note: Ukrainian independence was short-lived; the Ukraine was reincorporated into Soviet Russia in the 1920s. From the end of the Second World War to 1991, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were republics of the USSR while Poland was part of the Soviet bloc until 1989.



2. a. The countries that should be shaded are France, Britain, Russia, Serbia, Belgium, Montenegro, Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Romania.
- b. The countries that should be shaded are Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Ottoman Empire.
- c. The countries which remained neutral were
 - Norway
 - Sweden
 - Denmark
 - Netherlands
 - Spain
 - Switzerland
 - Albania

3.



New Nations

Gained Additional Territory

Reduced in Size

4. The empires that existed in 1914 disintegrated except for the British Empire which expanded.
5. In the new nations formed after World War I, the factor that seemed to undermine the achievement of national unity was the existence of many national and language groups within the countries' borders. Czechoslovakia was a good example of a new nation facing this problem.

6.

Territorial Changes Brought About by Peace Treaty		Point #
• Belgian sovereignty was restored.		7
• Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France.		8
• Peoples of Austria-Hungary were to have opportunity for autonomous development. This created a number of countries.		10
• Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro were evacuated. Serbia was to have free and secure access to the sea.		11
• An independent Poland was established with free and secure access to the sea.		13

Section 1: Activity 4

1. The factors that made new nation-building difficult in Yugoslavia in the period following the peace treaties were that Yugoslavia contained many national and language groups and faced disputes over territory with Italy.

2. The words that would best describe Germany's reaction to the Treaty of Versailles are
 - bitterness
 - resentment
 - humiliation

	German Objections to the Peace Terms	Defence of the Peace Treaty
3.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Saar Basin, with a population of 650 000 people, was separated. • Countries were lost. • Germany had to admit to all damage done in the war (war guilt). • Alsace-Lorraine was lost to France without ever asking the people who lived there. • German territory was given to Poland. • People of Danzig were denied their rights. • Germans in Alsace were denied union with Germany. • Germans in Czechoslovakia were forced to remain part of that new nation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Germany was the aggressor state. • Peace treaties have freed more people than any other treaties. • Armaments diminished. • War was a crime against society and the guilty have been punished. • Treaties established the League of Nations. • German colonies now Mandates of the League of Nations for benefit of their peoples. • The League of Nations had the power to change unjust and unworkable parts of the treaties.

4. It seems unlikely that the peace treaties developed at Paris would create a lasting peace because they created too many grievances.

Section 1: Activity 5

1. B	6. A
2. A	7. D
3. D	8. B
4. C	9. C
5. B	10. D

Section 1: Follow-up Activities

Extra Help

1. l	9. q	17. o
2. p	10. u	18. g
3. r	11. t	19. x
4. f	12. s	20. a
5. n	13. d	21. h
6. e	14. n	22. m
7. v	15. j	23. b
8. i	16. c	24. k

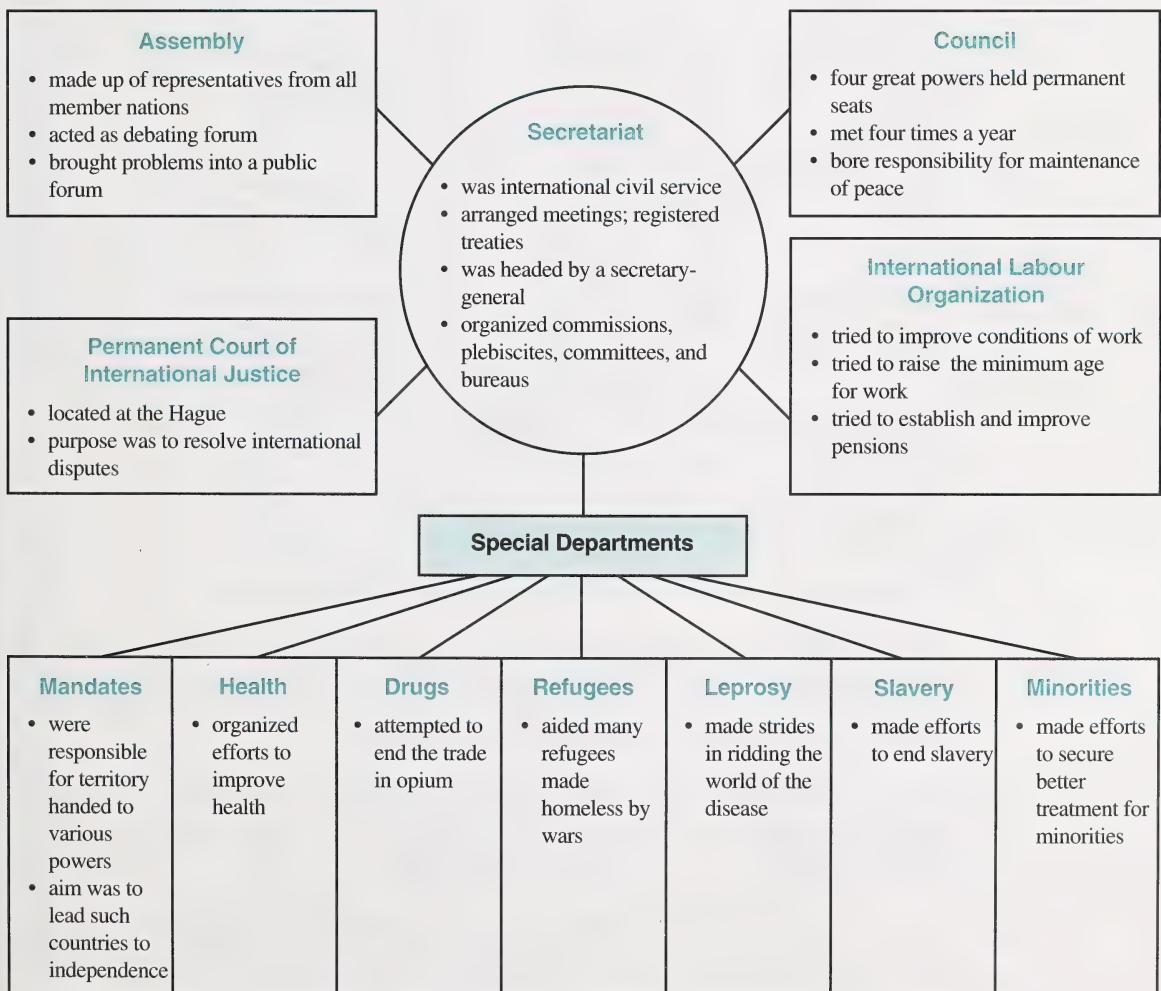
Enrichment

1. Repatriation means the freeing and return of all hostages.
2. The position on the Western Front at the time of the Armistice was one of ongoing hostilities. Fighting continued until 11 a.m. of November 11, 1918, even though the Armistice was signed at 5 a.m.
3. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk marked the exit of Russia from the war and the opportunity for the German High Command to reinforce its armies on the Western Front.
4.
 - a. France had the most direct interest in Alsace-Lorraine.
 - b. Alsace-Lorraine became part of France. The German territory west of the Rhine (the Rhineland), although remaining part of Germany was demilitarized, and Allied troops were to occupy it for fifteen years.
5. The Allies showed an interest in all submarines because the Germans had used them to blockade Britain. The British government was anxious to dismantle the German navy, particularly its submarine arm, in the interest of Britain's national security.
6.
 - a. With the abdication of the Kaiser, central authority collapsed in Germany. There had already been a left-wing uprising in Berlin and the political future looked bleak, particularly if the terms of the treaty were carried out completely.
 - b. Famine was also likely, in part because of the success of the British blockade but also because the economic terms of the treaty were, according to the Germans, so crippling. There seems to be some justification for these claims.
7. In the three years following the Armistice, the new nations of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Hungary were formed. Poland also extended its borders at the expense of Lithuania and Russia respectively in 1920 and 1921.

Section 2: Activity 1

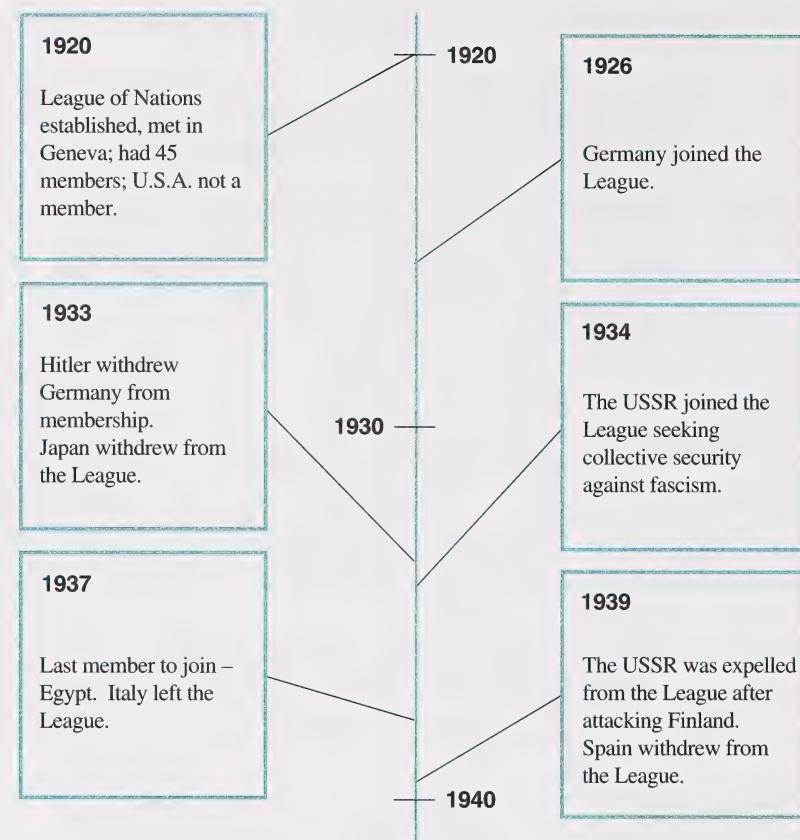
1. The goals of the League of Nations included a desire to promote
 - international cooperation
 - international peace and security
 - acceptance not to go to war
 - just and honourable relations between nations
 - establishment of international law
 - respect for treaty obligations
2. The article that seems to promise security to weaker nations is Article 10.
3. • discussion • arbitration • economic sanctions

Section 2: Activity 2



Section 2: Activity 3

1.



2. a. The U.S.A. refused to join the League of Nations.
- b. This country's absence weakened the League's ability to maintain peace.
3. The USSR, which wasn't invited to the conference, saw the League as a "robber's den" intended to safeguard the unjust agreement signed in Paris. Germany had many grievances after Versailles, and the intention of the League was to maintain the provisions of the peace treaties. Both countries saw the League of Nations as an instrument of an unfair treaty.
4. The treaties at Paris had "recreated" and recognized a Polish state. Territory for such a state had come from Soviet Russia. The aim of the League of Nations was to maintain the frontiers established at Paris.
5. Answers may vary here. Many people answering this question would say he was being very optimistic. Does public opinion influence leaders who are not accountable? Can some leaders influence public opinion?

Section 2: Activity 4

The League of Nations at Work

	Date	Countries Involved in the Dispute	Areas of Dispute	Details of Dispute	Result	Success or Failure of League
A	1920	Finland vs. Sweden	Aaland Islands	Both claimed the islands; Swedes on islands had been invaded by Finland.	Aaland Islands given to Finland with local rights for islanders.	Success
B	1921–22	Germany vs. Poland	Silesia	Both countries claimed Silesia.	A plebiscite was held by the League; Silesia was divided.	Questionable success: Germans unhappy
C	1923	Italy vs. Greece	Corfu	Italy captured the Greek island because of killing of Italian officials.	Greece paid compensation; Italy withdrew.	Mainly a success: a problem was resolved
D	1924–25	Turkey vs. Iraq	Mosul	The problem was over oil-rich centre and communication centre. Both countries claimed it.	No change was made in the Treaty of Lausanne.	Success (but questionable): British were pleased
E	1925	Bulgaria vs. Greece	Border Dispute	Ongoing territorial disputes led to an invasion of Bulgaria by Greece.	League condemned Greece and imposed an indemnity.	Success
F	1931	Japan vs. China	Manchuria	Japan seized resource-rich territory in China.	Japan was condemned by League but ignored this.	Unsuccessful: Japan expanded control in China
G	1935–36	Italy vs. Abyssinia	Abyssinian Independence	Italy invaded Abyssinia.	League condemned Italy and imposed sanctions.	Unsuccessful: Britain and France undermined sanctions; Italy gained and retained full control of Abyssinia.

Section 2: Activity 5

1. a. All three opinions criticize the League. They believe it is too weak to stop aggression.
b. This depends on your opinion; however, it would be hard to disagree with the opinions expressed in a.
2. a. Haile Selassie predicted the collapse of the League if his country did not get support.
b. He was correct in his prediction as the League did collapse and did not prevent World War II from starting.
3. A basic reason was that the League had only a limited membership. Some powerful nations were not in it. Also, it lacked the means to enforce its decisions and sanctions. It had no police force or army of its own. Major nations ignored its rulings and renounced their membership in it. Nations tended to make private deals with each other and put their own interests before those of the League of Nations.

Can you see other matters that hampered it?

Section 2: Activity 6

1. D	3. B	5. A	7. D
2. A	4. D	6. D	8. C

Section 2: Follow-up Activities

Extra Help

1. g	8. c	15. u
2. l	9. o	16. f
3. p	10. r	17. h
4. j	11. d	18. a
5. m	12. s	19. n
6. b	13. e	20. k
7. q	14. t	21. i

Enrichment

1. Wilson's aim in promoting the League of Nations was to prevent future wars.
2. Clemenceau's three principles for world peace were to
 - declare and enforce racial equality
 - establish free immigration
 - establish free trade throughout the world

3. • Wilson rejected racial equality because it was a difficult political issue in the U.S.A.
- Wilson rejected open immigration because there was pressure in the U.S.A. to ban Oriental immigration and place restrictions on European immigration as well.
- Wilson rejected free trade because the U.S. Congress would never agree to a customs union with Asia, Europe, and Africa.
4. a. Clemenceau's basis for maintaining peace was to keep France strong and its potential enemies weak.
- b. Clemenceau emphasized peace by achieving national security. Wilson wanted peace through collective security.
5. This answer requires opinion. However, many historians have suggested that Wilson was idealistic and expected too much from the Paris Peace Conference. In this it is possible to argue that he was naive if he hoped that the Europeans were going to accept all of his ideas.
6. a. Clemenceau had an understanding of French attitudes and was realistic about a German response to the Treaty of Versailles.
- b. He didn't think a League of Nations would work in the political climate of Europe in 1919.

Section 3: Activity 1

1. The reasons for the American policy of isolationism were

- a desire to avoid entanglements in Europe
- a desire to return to "normalcy" and pursue American interests
- to ensure American lives would not be lost in other wars

- 2.

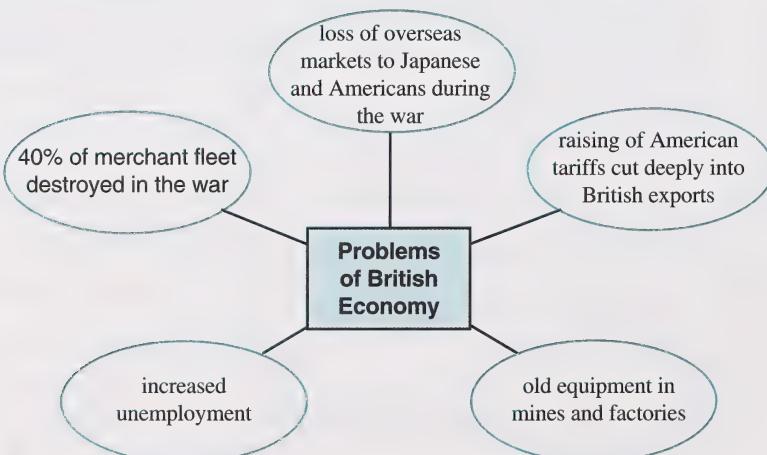
Policies that Reflect an Isolationist Stance	Policies that Reflect a Non-Isolationist Stance
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • rejected Treaty of Versailles and other treaties • refused to join League of Nations • refused to join International Court • raised tariff barriers against European goods • refused to cancel European war debts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • supported naval agreement • developed Dawes Plan (1924) • took part in Kellogg-Briand Pact (Pact of Paris) • cancelled European debt (1931) • engaged in relief work • developed Young Plan (1929)

Section 3: Activity 2

1. France worried about a strong Germany engaging in a war of revenge.
2. France intended to keep Germany under control by ensuring adherence to the Treaty of Versailles, by forming alliances which would encircle Germany, and by making the French army strong.
3. France sought military alliances with Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Poland to encircle Germany. This encirclement was intended to prevent revision of the treaties signed at Paris.
4. The concerns of the French, the Poles, and the Little Entente were about revisions to the peace treaties. Both Germany and Hungary had grievances.
5. The Locarno treaties created such elation in parts of Europe because France and Germany improved relations and agreed (with guarantees) to the boundaries between them established under the Treaty of Versailles.
6.
 - a. Locarno weakened some of the Treaty of Versailles provisions because there was no guarantee of the German-Polish frontier. Britain was not prepared to commit troops to a guarantee of the Polish Corridor.
 - b. Germany would have been most pleased because its most significant grievance (the Polish Corridor splitting East Prussia from the rest of the country) was not guaranteed by all the powers. Perhaps in time Versailles could be revised.
7. America wished to avoid the impression it was signing a bilateral alliance with France because its policy was one of isolationism. It wanted to avoid giving the impression that it was allied to France.
8. The French eventually decided to build the Maginot Line in an attempt to ensure national security. By 1927, the French believed that the League of Nations could not maintain the peace.

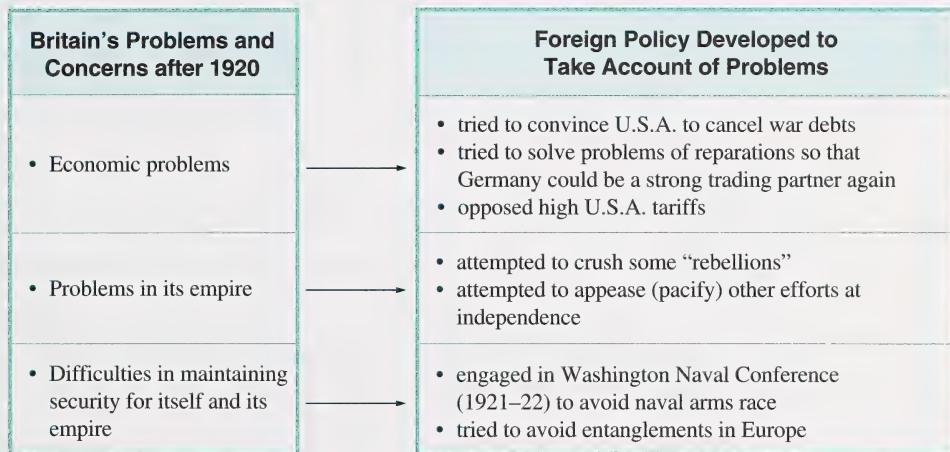
Section 3: Activity 3

1.



2. With the British economy in severe difficulties the country couldn't afford a costly naval arms rebuilding program. Its navy ensured security to Britain and its Empire, and therefore the British accepted the Washington Naval Agreement which gave the U.S. fleet parity with the British. No longer was Britain master of the seas.
3. With its widespread empire (and concerns over naval strength) Britain wanted to avoid entanglements in Europe. It certainly wanted a more lenient attitude towards Germany in the hope of avoiding conflict.

4.



Section 3: Activity 4

1. Your concept map should include ideas such as these:



2. Mussolini's policies for the Adriatic and Mediterranean caused tensions because Yugoslavia, Greece, France, and Britain had interests in the same areas.
3. Mussolini did not make Italy "great, strong, and feared." His record to 1930 was very limited. He had not made the Adriatic "an Italian Sea," and the major powers didn't fear him.

Section 3: Activity 5

1. French and Belgian troops could enter the Ruhr Valley easily because
 - there was virtually no German army after the Treaty of Versailles
 - French and Belgian troops already occupied the Rhineland, and from there the occupation of the Ruhr Valley was easy.
2. The German reaction to the French occupation of Essen in the Ruhr was one of silent hatred.
3. a. Passive resistance is peaceful noncooperation. In this case Germans were not cooperating with French troops.
 - b. Germany's army was not properly equipped or large enough to oppose the French in any way other than passive resistance.
4. The money had become virtually worthless. It took vast sums to buy small items. Hyper-inflation had taken its toll.
5. Germany's economic problems were solved after the early 1920s by the Dawes Plan which promised to deal with reparations and which led to American investment in Germany.
6. The German economy was so susceptible to collapse in 1929 and 1930 because American short-term loans were withdrawn from Germany. This led to economic collapse.

Section 3: Activity 6

1. The USSR was relatively weak in 1924 because of the losses in World War I and the Russian Civil War.
2. The USSR attempted to maintain its national security between 1922 and 1933 by signing treaties of neutrality and nonaggression with many of its neighbours.

Section 3: Activity 7

1. The Japanese military would try to convince foreigners that the invasion of Manchuria was necessary because the Japanese army had been attacked first and because there was an economic necessity. The resources of Manchuria were essential for economic security.

2. The League of Nations should have imposed economic sanctions, but such an agreement between the world's nations was impossible, especially since the U.S.A. was not a member of the League.

Section 3: Activity 8

1. A	3. C	5. B	7. D	9. B
2. B	4. D	6. C	8. A	10. A

Section 3: Follow-up Activities

Extra Help

1. m	5. o	9. i	13. a	17. l
2. h	6. b	10. p	14. t	18. n
3. f	7. r	11. d	15. c	19. k
4. j	8. e	12. o	16. s	20. g

Enrichment

1. The incident described in all three extracts took place in 1931.
2. a. Japan was interested in an “especial degree” in the two provinces because of their natural resources. It wanted economic security.
b. The Japanese falsified their assertion about not having territorial ambitions by annexing the territory, renaming it Manchukuo, and controlling the Chinese ruler.
3. a. Lytton was the Chairman of the Commission which produced the report. The Commission was working on behalf of the League of Nations.
b. The third extract (from the Lytton Report) blames Japan. For example, it argues that the Japanese attack was planned. The explosion which initiated the attack didn’t even prevent the punctual arrival of a south-bound train. Lytton argued that the explosion didn’t warrant the military action.
4. No vigorous international action was planned because the League of Nations was weak. What could Britain and France do? Could they mount an attack on Japan? The Japanese fleet was strong (Washington Naval Agreement). Manchuria was so far away and the U.S.A. was not moved to act either.

Section 4: Activity 1

1. Self-determination means the right to control one's own destiny within a defined geographical boundary. This means the right to develop one's own government without outside interference. It also implies frontiers determined on the basis of nationality.
2. The revisions implied in points 1 and 2 to achieve self-determination for German people were
 - *Anschluss* – union with Austria
 - return of Polish Corridor to Germany
 - Germans in Czechoslovakia (the Sudetenland) to become part of Germany
3. According to Hitler, the pressing problem was a surplus population. He believed Germany's land area was too small for its growing population.
4. The statements, or points, that oppose the Treaty of Versailles are #1, #2, and #22. Point #1 wants all German people to be part of Germany. This would oppose, for example, the clause in Versailles against *Anschluss*. Point #2 calls for the abolition of Versailles and Point #22 demands a national army which was forbidden under the treaty.
5. The solution to the problem for Hitler was expansion into Russia to achieve *Lebensraum* (living space).
6. Hitler argued that the Weimar Republic was discredited because it signed the Treaty of Versailles and didn't call for national opposition to it.
7. To make Germany great and strong, Hitler argues that
 - the peace treaties must be overturned
 - there must be unification of all Germans
 - there must be land and soil for a surplus German population
 - there must be a "German sword" – a new army
8. a. The USSR's reaction would be one of alarm. Russia was the target for living space.
b. France would also be alarmed at a strong Germany which would overturn the treaties.
9. The provisions of the Treaty of Versailles that would be broken if territory was to be seized by force would be the provision concerning an army and rearmament.
10. The British were satisfied with the British-German Naval Agreement because they thought it gave them naval security. There would be, they thought, no repeat of the pre-World War I naval arms race with Germany.

Note: Of course, such an agreement didn't take into account new weapons such as aircraft. The Spanish Civil War showed what could be done by aerial bombardment. Britain wasn't as secure as it might have thought it was in 1935.

11. Hitler's Rhineland "venture" was successful because the British and French couldn't agree on how to act. France was struggling under internal political confrontation. Britain didn't want entanglements in Europe. As well, in Britain many thought there was nothing wrong with Germans placing troops in Germany territory.

Section 4: Activity 2

1. America reaffirmed its policy of isolationism in the neutrality acts to strengthen that policy by making it illegal for Americans to involve themselves with nations which were at war. This way the U.S. didn't need to make commitments to other nations even when aggressive foreign policies were pursued by Japan, Italy, and Germany.

Note: Perhaps it didn't want a repeat of 1914–1918 when large loans to the Allies were a factor in the U.S.A. ultimately entering the war. If Germany had won, there would have been little opportunity for the repayment of loans by the Allies.

2. France's greatest concern remained national security against a vengeful Germany. To accomplish this, it tried to expand its alliance system to include the USSR (1935) and to cement ties with Italy to prevent a German-Italian understanding.
3. France tried to maintain national security by extending its alliance system and by continuing to build the Maginot Line. The League of Nations didn't provide any answers to France's concerns.
4. For the British, the British-German Naval Agreement offered national security. The agreements at Stresa offered confrontation with Germany, and that was something Britain wanted to avoid.
5. The USSR attempted to make accommodations with the Western democracies to secure a system of security against Fascism. It saw a threat to itself from the east (Japan) and from the west (Germany).
6. The U.S.A. reacted by strengthening its policy of isolationism through neutrality acts. France reacted by extending its alliance system, although it was unable to include the British. Britain attempted accommodation with Italy (over Abyssinia) and with Germany (the Naval Agreement). Of course, Britain was aided in its accommodation with Italy by France which wanted to avoid pushing Italy into the waiting arms of Germany. The USSR sought security arrangements with Britain and France.

Section 4: Follow-up Activities

Extra Help

Policies Intended to Achieve Expansion or Revisions to Treaties	Reactions to Policies
Japan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • expansion (Manchuria) • withdrawal from League of Nations 	U.S.A. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strengthened isolationism with neutrality acts
Italy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • expansion (Abyssinia) 	France <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • expanded alliance system • continued building Maginot Line
Germany <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • rearmament • Rhineland reoccupation • withdrawal from League of Nations 	Britain <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • made accommodations with Germany (Naval Agreement)
	the USSR <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • attempted to achieve anti-fascist pact with democracies (Britain and France)

Enrichment

1. *International strife* refers to confrontations between nations and between nations and the League.
2. The League of Nations attempted to resolve the following disputes:
 - Finland vs. Sweden
 - Germany vs. Poland
 - Turkey vs. Iraq
 - Italy vs. Greece
 - Bulgaria vs. Greece
 - Japan vs. China
 - Italy vs. Abyssinia
3. The rabbit has been chosen by the cartoonist because it is weak when faced by a snake. It has no defence except to stay still.
4. The result of the confrontation will be that the rabbit (the League) will be swallowed by the snake (international strife). The League will fail.

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